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AN

ANALYSIS

OF THE

EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY:

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

OF

THE REMAINS

OF

Egyptian Chronology.

BY

J. C. PRICHARD, M. D.

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PREFACE.

THE celebrated "Pantheon Ægyptiorum" of Paul Ernest Jablonski has been so long and so justly held in the highest estimation by the learned, that any new attempt to explain the riddles of the ancient Egyptian Mythology may seem, to those who are acquainted with that work, to be a superfluous and a hopeless task. To me, at least, it appears so probable that such will be the impression with which many persons will read the title of this volume, that I feel it incumbent upon me to give some account of my motives in offering it to the Public.

The following treatise owes its existence, or at least its publication in the present form, to some observations which a late writer of distinguished learning has founded on a review of Jablonski's work. The facts which it has developed, he remarks, inevitably lead us to the conclusion "that the Egyptian religion is the produce of the country, peculiar to itself, and without any

marks of foreign improvement or innovation. Isis, Osiris, Ammoun, Typhon, and Thoth, are natives of Egypt, receive their names from its vernacular language, and worship from its physical situation."*

If this conclusion should be adopted, and it should be allowed that the religion and philosophy, as well as the language, and all the other possessions of the Egyptian people, were peculiar to themselves, and entirely unconnected with those which belonged to other nations of antiquity, we shall perhaps be obliged to admit the inference which has been deduced respecting the origin of the Egyptian race ;† though it contradicts the testimony of the Sacred Records, the earliest memorials of mankind, and is at variance with the general observations that result

* Travels of James Bruce, Esq. to discover the source of the Nile. Third edition, Appendix to Book ii, No. 1 (by the learned Editor.)

It must be remarked that although this is the conclusion to which Professor Murray has been led by Jablonski's work, it was by no means the opinion of that author himself. On the contrary, he regarded the Egyptian mythology as allied in its origin to the superstitions of Eastern Asia, and mentions the writings of the Brahmans among the sources whence we may expect to derive a further and most important elucidation of its doctrines. See "Pantheon Ægyptiorum," in prolegomenis.

† The author cited above seems to infer that the Egyptians were a race peculiar to Africa, and originally distinct from the posterity of Noah and of Adam.

from a survey of the organized world, and the distribution of species over the globe.*

I have been induced by this consideration to examine the data from which the conclusion before mentioned has been obtained; and the results of this inquiry, together with the grounds on which it has proceeded, are laid before my readers in the following pages.

In the composition of this work, and particularly in the first Book, my labour has been greatly facilitated by the ample collection of passages from the ancient writers referring to Egypt, which is comprised in the pages of Jablonski. No man can be more willing than myself to admit the high merits of this author, whose acuteness and ingenuity were equal to his profound learning; but it appears to me that he has been led into some errors, the result of his fondness for refined and erudite explanations, and for eliciting from

* I have elsewhere endeavoured to prove that the various branches of mankind form but one species, and that the Law or Method of Nature, in replenishing the earth with locomotive beings, has been the original production of one stock, or family in each species, and the subsequent dispersion of it over the globe. *Researches into the Physical History of Man. London*, 1813.

In the late work of Mr. Lawrence, entitled "Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, and the Natural History of Man," the unity of species in mankind has been demonstrated with great ability, and by a more comprehensive survey of facts than any former writer has attempted.

every popular superstition a dignified and philosophical meaning. Another circumstance has been unfortunate, unless I am mistaken, for the accuracy of his conclusions: I mean the undue reliance he placed on the doubtful evidence of etymology, for which a profound acquaintance with the remains of the Coptic language and literature, joined to a great fertility of conjecture, seems to have given him a predilection.

In the following treatise I have placed no dependance on that fallacious testimony which has so often led the antiquarian astray, and have confined myself to the evidence which I have been able to collect from the ancient authors, and from some collateral sources of information that were scarcely accessible to the author of the Pantheon. It may be objected that I have transgressed the limits of my original plan, which was the comparison of the Egyptian doctrine with the Asiatic mythologies, by availing myself of these very mythologies for explaining the superstition of Egypt. But I have only applied to this resource under certain restrictions, which have, as I hope, secured me from the charge of reasoning in a circle. Having once entered upon the subject, I became desirous of presenting my readers with as complete an account as the existing materials enabled me to supply, of the Egyptian religion and philosophy;

and, in order to elucidate, as far as possible, a subject involved in no small degree of obscurity, I found it necessary to examine the relations which this system of mythology bore to the doctrines and observances of other nations.

Although my ultimate object has been the illustration of an historical question, I have made no allusion to it in the following treatise. The inferences I wish to deduce are sufficiently obvious.

I am not without some further hope that this work, as well as every other careful research into heathen superstitions, may also tend to another and a not less important result. The more diligently we examine the moral and religious history of those nations who were destitute of the light of revelation, the stronger is our impression of their extreme debasement and mental darkness, and the more just will be our estimate of those means by which Divine Providence has been pleased to deliver us from the atrocious barbarism and unmitigated depravity, in which our pagan ancestors were involved. To this effect an attentive survey of the religious dogmas and practices of the most learned people of the primitive world will not fail to contribute its due share.

I cannot but be sensible of many imperfections in a work composed during the moments of relaxation from the duties of an active profession; but I am aware that the tribunal of criticism is

scarcely to be propitiated by any representations of a private or personal nature, and that I must be content to await a judgment that will depend on the degree of success which my attempt shall be thought to have attained.

Subjoined to the treatise on Egyptian Mythology is an Analysis of the Remains of the Chronology and History of the same people, of which it is necessary to give some account, as this is not closely connected with the scope of the preceding work.

The historical records of ancient Egypt have been supposed to claim a degree of antiquity, which far exceeds the duration of the human race, as deduced from the Sacred Scriptures. Various expedients have been devised for reconciling this discrepancy, of which the hypothesis of Sir John Marsham is the most celebrated. Yet, it is a mere hypothesis, and is far from having the support, as I have endeavoured to show, of historical evidence, as far as such evidence can be collected.

My readers will demand with what prospect of success I have presumed to enter upon a field which has been so often abandoned in despair? —with what hope I have solicited their attention to a disquisition on a mass of contradictory fragments, which so many learned men have in vain

attempted to reduce into order? My reply must be, that I believe myself to have fallen by chance upon the clue by which the enigma is to be solved. In repeatedly examining the fragments of these Chronicles, I thought I perceived some phænomena that seemed to explain the principle on which they were originally constructed, and promised to connect the whole into one system. The more I investigated the matter, the more I became convinced that I was not deceived by fallacious appearances, or by merely accidental coincidences. Of this, however, my readers will now judge. I shall only premise that, if I am correct in my conjectures, there is in reality no want of harmony between the historical records of the ancient Egyptians and those contained in the Sacred Scriptures; that, on the contrary, the antiquity assumed for the Egyptian nation, from their own archives, is far within the era assigned by the chronology of the LXX. for the second origin of mankind.

The treatise on Egyptian Chronology was written, for the most part, some years ago; and I avail myself of the present opportunity of presenting it to the Public.

INTRODUCTION.

ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION RESPECTING THE LEARNING AND MYTHOLOGY OF EGYPT.

THERE are four sources whence we may chiefly expect to derive information respecting the learning, the superstitious practices, and the religious fables, of the ancient Egyptians.

The most important of these, since it affords us information of the most authentic description, is to be found in the works of a few ancient writers who visited Egypt, and who have described what they personally witnessed.

The power of the Egyptian hierarchy had declined from the age of Psammitichus, who first encouraged the intercourse of his subjects with foreigners, and thereby endangered the influence of those superstitions which, during some thousand years, had maintained the character impressed by ancient priestcraft on the people of Egypt. But the conquest of the whole country by the arms of Persia, the wanton tyranny of Cambyses, and the continual discountenance which the old religion sustained while Egypt was under the dominion of a nation who were disposed to persecute idolatry, must

have introduced many important innovations on the ancient system. It is probable that some former rites were discontinued during this period, the priests finding them no longer practicable, or the people being deterred from the performance of them.

After the Macedonian conquest, the state of things was again altered. The Greeks bore no enmity to the superstitions of Egypt: they were aware that this country had been the cradle of their own mythology. The Ptolemies were desirous of gaining the affections of the native people, and they patronised the priesthood. The idolatrous worship of Egypt recovered a portion of its former splendour; but its features now bore an impression in many respects different from that of antiquity. The rites and the fictions of the followers of Hermes were blended with the exotic customs and philosophy of their European conquerors. The aspect of the national manners and religion was less genuine and less peculiar.

From the time of the first Ptolemies, the mythological learning and superstition of Egypt underwent a gradual decline, but sustained no great catastrophe, until the period when they were doomed finally to vanish, together with all other forms of idolatry, before the increasing light of Christianity. The conquest of Egypt by the Romans introduced no sudden change, and the old religion only suffered by the decay of opulence, and the failure of local patronage, which naturally ensued, in consequence of the reduction of the country to the condition of a province. As late as the time of Strabo, there were persons who assumed the character and pretensions of the order of Sacred Scribes, the depositaries of the Hermetic learning.

The old gods of the Egyptians were still fed in their ancient temples; nor does it appear that any attempt was made to supplant them with Grecian or Roman idols. The worshippers of serpents and crocodiles had indeed to encounter the banter and ridicule of the Greeks; but so far was this from putting them to shame, or loosening the hold of their superstition, that they bore triumphantly into the country of their conquerors the strange magical ceremonies of their native priests; and the pomps and mysteries of Isis and Osiris, even in the metropolis of the civilized world, disputed the palm with Jupiter of the Capitol.

The history of Egyptian superstition thus divides itself into three periods. Its golden age was, while the power of the hierarchy was unbroken, before the Persian conquest, or the introduction of foreign manners. The second period comprises the time which elapsed from this era till the accession of the Ptolemies. The third begins with the reign of Lagus, and ends with the extinction of Paganism.

The information to be derived from travellers in Egypt is to be prized nearly in proportion to the antiquity of the writers. The accounts of those who visited this country during the third period are less valuable than the testimonies of the few travellers who surveyed it while under the Persian sway; and the latter may be supposed to afford us less genuine information than we might have obtained from the age of the Pharaohs.

We know the names of several Grecian travellers who frequented the Egyptian colleges before the invasion of Cambyses; such as Orpheus, Thales, and Pythagoras. The latter of these philosophers is said

to have enjoyed more extensive opportunities of instruction than any of his countrymen. The greatest misfortune is, that if these travellers wrote any accounts of what they witnessed, none have survived to our times.

There is only one author who has furnished us with a record of his personal observation in the kingdom of the Pharaohs. Moses was educated in the learning of the Egyptians; his accounts are the most authentic, and the information they afford is extremely valuable, though it is limited: it was not the design of this historian to gratify the curiosity of modern philosophers.

During the reign of the Persians, Egypt was visited by Hecatæus, Herodotus, and Plato. The works of the former have perished, with the exception of a few fragments; and the latter has left no narrative of his voyage. Herodotus is our greatest authority: we have only to regret that, either through ignorance, or influenced by prudential motives, he has concealed many circumstances relating to the Egyptian superstition, of which we might have hoped for an ample explanation. Being entirely ignorant of the Egyptian language, he was wholly dependant on the information given him by interpreters.

Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, saw Egypt under the Cæsars. These writers appear to have given us faithful accounts of all that they witnessed. From Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and some other Romans, we derive the knowledge of a few facts.

II. A much larger portion of information, though not altogether of so authentic a description, is

contained in the works of several writers of a different class, who flourished subsequently to the conquest of Egypt by the Macedonians. These were chiefly persons of an inquisitive turn, who, living in a more enlightened age than their predecessors, had imbibed the notion, dangerous to the established religions of the Pagan world, that its mythological tales were not to be received in their literal sense, but required a philosophical analysis, in order to develope truths which had been concealed in mysterious language by the ancient hierophants. This, however, was the last stand made by Paganism against the victorious advances of a purer faith. In this contest the advocates of the old religion turned themselves to every quarter, where they hoped to find something that afforded an excuse for former practices; and in attempting to defend the fables of polytheism, they were contented, and even anxious, to resolve them all into allegories. These pretensions, though they appear not to have been wholly without foundation, were resisted by the Christian fathers; and in the course of the controversy which ensued, many curious documents were brought to light, which would otherwise have perished in oblivion, and which contribute to throw very important light upon the history of Pagan rites and fables.

The most judicious of the apologists of Paganism, are Plutarch and Macrobius, who profess to found their interpretations of ancient fables on the remains of mystical literature and mythology. Porphyry, who lived at a period when these subjects were keenly agitated, possessed, though under the influence of strong prejudices, great discernment, and

an uncommon share of erudition. Iamblichus was a strenuous votary of the occult sciences, and full of the worst mysticism of the Alexandrine school; yet his works contain valuable information respecting the prevailing opinions of the most learned Pagans of his own and of preceding ages. But the most compendious and instructive writer is Diodorus, who must be mentioned also among the authors of this class, since he has not confined himself to giving us the fruit of his own personal observation, but has collected whatever he deemed most valuable from other writers.

In the same department we may reckon several Fathers of the Church, as Clemens, Origen, Eusebius, and Augustin, who, in their writings in refutation of Paganism, have preserved many extracts from various authors, whose works are lost.

The value of most of these remains depends on the solution of the inquiry, from what quarters the authors derived their materials. Was there any original and genuine fund of ancient literature and philosophy, from which they have drawn their elucidations? or have they only given us the reveries of Grecian speculators? This is a question which it is not easy to determine satisfactorily.

It seems, indeed, to be unquestionable, that a great number of books were preserved in the Egyptian temples, composed at various times by learned men of the sacerdotal order, which treated of the different branches of philosophy and mystical learning. These were called Hermaic books, or books of Hermes; the name importing, not that they had been all written by the sage who bore that celebrated name, but that

the authors were persons favoured and inspired by the god of wisdom.* Clemens informs us that thirty-six of these books were carried by the several orders of priests in the religious processions in honour of Isis. These were the books which it was necessary for the different classes of priests to study, in order to learn their respective duties. The first contained the hymns that were to be sung in honour of the gods; the second, precepts referring to the duties and conduct of the king. Four books treated of astrology, the positions of the fixed stars, the conjunctions of the sun and moon, and the risings of the heavenly bodies, with reference, as it should seem, to the predictions founded upon them. The ten hieroglyphical books comprised cosmography, geography, the movements of the sun and moon, and five planets; the topography of Egypt and the Nile; a description of the instruments used in sacrifice, and the places appointed for its celebration. Ten other books described the honours to be paid to the gods, and the method of the Egyptian rites, respecting sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, festivals, and other similar matters. Ten books, which were distinguished by the term *Sacerdotal*, comprised the laws, the history of the gods, and the whole discipline of the priests. Besides these thirty-six books, there were six others that treated of medicine, viz. on the structure of the body, on distempers, on surgical instruments, on drugs, on diseases of the

* Iamblichus says, that Hermes was the god of all celestial science; that he inspired the priests, who, accordingly, inscribed their own commentaries with the name of Hermes. —*Iamblich. de Myst.*

eyes, and on complaints peculiar to women. This enumeration contains the most important of the books ascribed to Hermes; but it appears, from the expressions of Clemens, that it did not comprise the whole number.

Galen has cited an Hermaic book, relating to medicine, which seems to have been different from any of those before mentioned. He says it treated of the thirty-six herbs of the horoscopes. It probably contained a system of incantations by drugs; for we are elsewhere informed that the Egyptians believed the human body to be distributed into thirty-six parts, each of which was under the particular government of one of the decans or aërial dæmons, who presided over the triple divisions of the twelve signs. Origen adds, that when any part of the body was diseased, a cure was obtained by invoking the dæmon to whose province it belonged.*

Other writers mention the Hermaic books as authentic sources of information, and as the depositories of ancient learning. Plutarch cites them by hearsay, or reports facts which were said to be derived from them. It is evident that he was unacquainted with them, and doubtless he was unable to read the sacred characters or the language of Egypt. Iamblichus says, the number of books termed Hermaic amounted to thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-four: an incredible account.

On the whole, it seems historically certain that a great number of books were preserved in the temples of Egypt, written partly in hieroglyphics and partly in other characters, which were ascribed to Hermes,

* Celsus apud Origen.—Lib. viii. p. 416, ed. Cantab.

or rather dedicated to him, and supposed to have been written under his spiritual superintendance; that these books contained the principal doctrines of the Egyptian priests, and the concealed interpretation of their fables, together with all that they possessed of learning and philosophy. The literature of ancient Egypt was then preserved, not only down to the age of the Macedonian conquest, but as long as the Pagan superstition survived.*

But all this was locked up and sealed under the impenetrable veil of sacerdotal mystery. We have no reason to believe that any Greek or Roman of the Ptolemaic or Imperial ages ever became acquainted with the native language of Egypt. The memorials inscribed on the pillars of Thoth, or in the books of the thrice great philosopher, were alike inaccessible to strangers, whether they were written in the hieroglyphic or in common characters. Had it depended on them, the wisdom or folly of antiquity would have passed away without leaving any discernible vestiges to later times. But the learned natives of Egypt were attracted, by the magnificence of the Ptolemies,

* It may be asked, if this were true, why the Christians, who translated the Scriptures into the Egyptian language, did not adopt the ἐγχωρια γραμματα, or the national or epistolary character of the old Egyptians, instead of inventing a new letter. Probably the knowledge of these characters as well as that of the hieroglyphics, was confined to the priests; and if so, they were only adopted in the ancient or sacerdotal dialect, and unknown to the Christian converts. Besides, we have as yet no proof that these characters were alphabetic letters; and if they were founded on the hieroglyphics, they must have been so intimately connected with the old superstitions, as to be very unfit instruments for expressing the truths of Christianity.

to the school of Alexandria. There they imparted their knowledge of astronomy and other branches of science to their conquerors, and acquired the Greek language, which continued for a thousand years to be the medium of learned conversation and writing through a great part of the civilized world. Here they were encouraged to transfer the memorials of their dynasties, and the institutes of their ancient hierarchy, into the Greek language. It is true that they acquired, together with the idiom of their conquerors, modes of thinking which were widely different from their ancient domestic habits. Accordingly we cannot believe that their writings displayed the genuine representation of Egyptian antiquity, altogether free from the prejudices and distorted conceptions of the Greeks. Yet it is just to suppose that their works contained whatever was the most important or most singular in the ancient Hermetic volumes.

Iamblichus, indeed, assures us that faithful translations of the Egyptian books existed in the Greek language; he adds, that these were unjustly suspected of being impostures, from the circumstance that they contained expressions which savoured of more modern doctrines. This arose from the fact, "that the persons, who translated them into the Greek language, were men not unacquainted with the Grecian philosophy; and that they accordingly used the phraseology of the Platonic school, in setting forth doctrines originally derived from the lessons of Hermes." Cyril of Alexandria informs us that there existed an edition of the Hermaic books, entitled, Ἑρμαικὰ πεντεκαίδεκα βιβλιὰ—"Fifteen Books of

Hermes." It appears, indeed, that certain compositions ascribed to Hermes, under the title of Genica, or Genetic books, containing chronological computations, were extant in the time of Eusebius, and even as late as that of Syncellus.

Besides the translations of the Hermetic books, the compositions of Manethon and Chæremon, who were both members of the priesthood, seem to have contained a large portion of Egyptian learning, transferred into the Greek language.

But the misfortune is, that these Greek copies have met with the same fate that has befallen their Egyptian prototypes. The Hermetic books are wholly lost, unless we may except those compositions published by Ficinus and Patricius, under the title of "The Books of Hermes." Of these, a great part evidently originated in the pious fraud of some mistaken Christians; and those which contain no undoubted proof of imposture, on account of the topics they comprise, are of little or no value. Yet it is satisfactory to know that a great fund of genuine information respecting the antiquities of Egypt survived long enough to afford the means of instruction to the writers of the ages we have before referred to. In the works of Diodorus, Plutarch, Macrobius, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Clemens, Origen, Eusebius, and Augustin, we find a great many fragments of older writers, and many pieces of the Egyptian philosophy, which are extremely interesting and instructive, provided we may rely on their genuineness; and we have no longer reason to doubt of this, when we find that there existed, in the age of these authors, sufficient means of obtaining that knowledge of which they appear to have been very desirous.

III. Some information respecting the subject of our inquiry may be derived from a third source, namely, from the doctrines and institutions of ancient mystics or legislators, who are well known to have visited Egypt before the decline of the priesthood, and to have introduced with them, into Europe or Asia, a variety of Egyptian customs or dogmas. Orpheus,* Pythagoras, Thales, and other founders

* Orpheus has indeed been called a Thracian; yet the learned seem to be unanimous in the opinion, that his philosophy was wholly of Egyptian origin. According to Diodorus, Orpheus travelled in Egypt, and there learned those tenets of mythology which he afterwards introduced into Greece. However this may have been, we have good authority for regarding the fragments of the Orphic philosophy, or the Orphic verses, which remain to our times, as the production of the older Pythagoreans, rather than of Orpheus himself. We are now speaking of such pieces as have a title to be considered as genuine, having been preserved in the works of respectable authors. The ancients uniformly ascribe these verses to the Pythagorean sect, though they are not precisely agreed respecting the names of the authors. According to Ion of Chios, Pythagoras himself composed some of them. Sextus Empiricus attributed them to Onomacritus, a follower of Pythagoras, who lived at Athens in the time of the Pisistratidæ. (Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i.) Cercops, another Pythagorean, was supposed by Cicero to have been the author of them. (De Nat. Deor. lib. i.) Others suppose that Cercops wrote a part of them. (Clemens, ubi suprà.) Grotius has shown that the Pythagoreans were accustomed to attribute their own poetical compositions on mythological subjects to Orpheus and Linus. It is certain that these pieces were held in great esteem among the Greeks, as containing the genuine doctrine of their mystical philosophy. Compare Clemens; Cudworth's Intellect. System, p. 295; Jablonski's Pantheon, lib. i. cap. 2; and Grotii Prolegom. in Stobæi citata.

of philosophical sects in Greece, studied, as we are assured, in Egypt; and they appear to have modelled the tenets of their respective schools on the instructions they there received. Hence the doctrines of these schools may assist us, to a certain degree, in forming our conclusions respecting the tenets of the Egyptian hierarchy.

We cannot safely avail ourselves of this resource, without exercising some discrimination. The Greek philosophers may have derived some of their doctrines from other sources. They may have intermingled foreign tenets with the lessons delivered by the successors of Hermes. This appears to have

The physical and metaphysical tenets, attributed more immediately to Pythagoras, are essentially the same with those contained in the Orphic fragments. God, according to Pythagoras, was the Soul which animated all nature, not extrinsic to the world, but embodied in it, as the human soul in the human body. From this universal soul, all the gods, demi-gods, as well as the souls of men and inferior animals, and even of plants, were emanations. Such are the accounts which we gather from Cicero, (Nat. Deor. lib. i. cap. 12,) Plutarch, (de Placitis phil.) Laertius, (lib. viii.) and others; from all which, Brucker concludes that the physical doctrine of Pythagoras scarcely differed from that afterwards adopted by Zeno (Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ). The Stoics may indeed be considered as the disciples of the Pythagoreans, as far as respects their opinions concerning the system of nature.

As for the Pythagorean doctrine, no doubt was ever entertained that it was purely Egyptian. Pythagoras was initiated in the mysteries of the Egyptians, to obtain which privilege, he is said to have undergone circumcision. He is reported to have been the disciple of Sonchedes, an Egyptian chief prophet, or high-priest. (Clemens Strom. lib. i.)

happened, from the frequent contradictions which are found between the doctrines of different schools. We cannot therefore rely upon them as giving a faithful transcript of the Egyptian philosophy.

But there are some occasions on which we may with advantage avail ourselves of the instruction derived from this quarter. When we know, from the express testimony of historians, that any particular dogma was prevalent among the Egyptians, and are assured that it was borrowed from them by some foreign sect, we may apply to the latter for information respecting the particular mode or peculiar representation under which this tenet was taught in the Egyptian schools. It must be allowed that this method of inquiry is liable to some fallacies; but these may be avoided, if we follow its suggestions with sufficient caution.

This remark may be illustrated by a particular example; and we cannot select a better instance than the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which we know to have been taught by Pythagoras and his followers among the Greeks, and which they certainly derived from the Egyptians. As the Pythagoreans have left us a more particular account of the notions entertained respecting the Soul than those that we receive directly from the Egyptians, we may, without incurring any great risk of mistaking our way, take the Pythagoreans as our guides, in attempting to penetrate the sense of the Egyptian fables relating to the same subject.

IV. To these three sources of information we venture to add a fourth, which may seem to be of

more suspicious character; yet we may hope to derive from it some illustrations, of considerable value. We refer to the comparison of the Egyptian doctrines and theological fables with those of the Indian Brahmans. In seeking for information in this quarter, we must not advance a single step without examining the ground on which we proceed. This is still more necessary than in the instances before alluded to: for we are informed, by the undoubted testimony of history, that the tenets of the Grecian schools were copied from the doctrines of the Hermetic colleges; but we have no historical information respecting any intercourse between the philosophers of the Nile and those of the Ganges, further than what results from internal evidence, in the resemblance of their tenets and representations. We shall therefore fall into that kind of sophism which is termed reasoning in a circle, if we infer that some communication existed between the schools of Asia and Africa, from the resemblance of their philosophy, and at the same time presume that this resemblance was more extensive than we can prove it to have been. These considerations show the necessity of proceeding in a very circumspect manner, when we attempt to elucidate the Egyptian fables by reference to the Indian mythology. We must never take for granted any coincidence which is not clearly manifest; and, to avoid all ambiguity and confusion, must separate the inferences afforded by this comparison from the results of those inquiries which may appear to be pursued with more satisfactory evidence. With these precautions it will be shewn, that a very important light may be reflected from the literature of

the East on the philosophy and superstition of Egypt, and especially on the successive developement of doctrines, and the history of mythology in the latter country.

Some authors, at the head of whom is the learned and ingenious Jablonski, have placed much reliance on the names of the Egyptian gods, and by means of etymologies, derived from the scanty remains of the Coptic language, have attempted to discriminate the attributes and functions of all the fabulous beings in the theogony. This plan seems, at the first view, to afford some hope of extending the narrow limits of our knowledge; but an attentive consideration of the subject tends materially to lessen any expectation we may have formed respecting it, and to confirm the suspicions with which etymological researches are generally regarded. It would appear that the original import of many names in the list of Egyptian gods had become the subject of vague conjecture in the time of Plutarch. This is evident, from the variety of meanings assigned by authors of that period to a single epithet, and from the doubtful terms in which they offer the interpretation. Possibly some of these appellatives were originally derived from an idiom foreign to Africa, or at least to Egypt. But if they were all indigenous, still, as the Egyptian language had already undergone so great a change, while it was yet a living dialect, that their sense could only be guessed at, how can we hope to interpret them with any degree of certainty, by means of the poor remains of Coptic literature, the oldest specimens of which bear a date subsequent to the introduction of Christianity? But nothing can afford a more

complete proof that these etymologies are worthy of no confidence than the facility with which they are contrived. Jablonski has experienced no difficulty in producing a compound appellative in the Coptic language, corresponding not only with every name, but with every fancied explanation of it that can be traced in the ancient writers.

Perhaps we ought to have mentioned the remains of sculpture and painting, among the most valuable resources for illustrating the mythology of Egypt. This is a source which is still open, and whence we may hope to derive more than has yet been obtained. If modern researches should succeed in unfolding the mystery of the hieroglyphics, which seems now more than ever probable, the remains of sculpture and painting will acquire a degree of importance which we are not at present able to appreciate.

BOOK THE FIRST.

OF THE POPULAR RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS, COMPREHENDING THEIR THEOGONY, AND THE FABULOUS HISTORY OF THEIR GODS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NATURE OF THE EGYPTIAN GODS IN GENERAL.

SECTION I.

Different Ideas respecting the Nature of the Egyptian Gods.

The nature of the Egyptian gods, and the origin of those strange and absurd fictions that were connected with them, is a subject which has engaged the attention of many learned and ingenious men, both in ancient and modern times. Yet it must be allowed, that this inquiry has not led to any very satisfactory conclusion; at least this would appear to be the case, from the variety of notions which have prevailed respecting the superstitious rites and ideas of the Egyptians. Some writers have been persuaded, that the religion of that ancient people consisted chiefly of the divine honours paid by them to renowned chieftains or philosophers, to the inventors of useful arts, or the founders of cities and civilized communities; others describe it as an idolatrous veneration of birds, beasts, fishes, and even plants; while a third class of authors would convince us that the Egyptians solely directed their

adorations towards the sun, the moon, and other striking and conspicuous objects in the visible universe. If, as many believe, there is some truth in all these accounts, it is difficult to imagine what connection could subsist between ideas so remote from each other, and how they could be so combined as to form one system of mythology.

The greater number of modern writers, who have touched upon this subject, have adopted the former representation respecting the fables of the Egyptians: they have regarded the gods of that people as deified heroes. It is probable that the moderns derived this notion from the Greek writers, with whom it was a familiar and certainly a very natural one, since it cannot be disputed that the objects of worship among their own countrymen, or at least a part of them, were originally celebrated warriors, or authors of useful discoveries, or the destroyers of wild beasts. It has been remarked also, that the Fathers of the Christian Church were disposed to favour this opinion, because it furnished them with a striking argument against their Pagan adversaries. It was not the chief design of these pious men to inquire deeply into the doctrines of philosophers, or the fables of heathen mystics; but to expose, by a well-placed censure, the gross absurdities of the popular belief, and of rites which, whatever was their origin, only tended in practice to foster the most depraved inclinations of their devotees.

The second representation of the Egyptian idolatry has furnished abundance of room for banter and ridicule. Accordingly, we meet with frequent allusions to it in the works of satiric writers. Juvenal

laughs at the people whose gods grow in their gardens, and who fall prostrate in multitudes before a hound, while nobody cares for the goddess of the chace; and in the following fragment of Anaxandrides, we find a specimen of the keen and humourous derision with which the Greeks were accustomed to treat the religious practices of that nation from whom they had originally borrowed the fables of their own mythology.*

Οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην συμμαχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐγὼ,
οὔθ' οἱ τρόποι γὰρ ὁμονοῦσ' οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι
ἡμῶν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δὲ διέχουσιν πολύ.
Βοῦν προσκυνεῖς· ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς·
τὴν ἔγχελυν μέγιστον ἡγεῖ δαίμονα,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ὄψων μέγιστον παρὰ πολύ.
οὐκ ἐσθίεις ὗεια, ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἥδομαι
μάλιστα τούτοις· κύνα σέβεις, τύπτω δ' ἐγὼ,
τ' οὖψον κατεσθίουσαν ἡνίκ' ἂν λάβω.
τοῦς ἱερέας ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁλοκλήρους νόμος
εἶναι· παρ' ὑμῖν δ', ὡς ἐοίκεν, ἀπηργμένους·
σὺ μὲν τὸν αἴλουρον κακὸν ἐχ'ὀντ, ἢν ἴδῃς,
κλάιεις· ἐγὼ δ' ἥδιστ' ἀποκτείνας δέρω·
δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μυγάλη, πὰρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ γ' οὔ.

The following is a Translation.

'Tis plain that you and I can ne'er agree,
So opposite are all our ways and rites.
Before a bull, four-legged beast, ye bend,
With pious terror smitten: at the altar,
I offer him a victim to the gods.
You fancy in the little eel some power
Of dæmon huge and terrible, within

* Anaxand. in Civitat. apud Athenæi Deipnos, lib. vii. p. 299.

We stew it for our daintiest appetite. The flesh
Of fatted swine you touch not: 'tis the best
Of all our delicate meats. The yelping cur
Is in your creed a god: I whip the rogue
Whene'er I catch him stealing eggs or meat.
Our priests are whole in skin from foot to head:
Not so your circumcised and shaven seers.
You cry and wail whene'er ye spy a cat
Starving or sick: I count it not a sin
To hang it up, and flay it for its skin.
Ye say the paltry shrew-mouse is a god.

The worship of the sun and moon, and the elements of nature, is less frequently touched upon by the more popular writers, partly as it was not confined to the Egyptians, and partly because it was not so obviously unreasonable and preposterous as the adoration of dead men, or dogs and cats. Yet these circumstances render it probable that we are to look in this quarter for the fundamental principles of the Egyptian superstitions. Among all the different forms of paganism, the worship of the visible elements of nature is the most natural, and it has been more general than any other. Hence arises a presumption that this was the basis of religious fables among the Egyptians. Indeed it was long ago observed, that we cannot imagine how the adoration of heroes could subsequently become connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies. "We cannot conceive how a mighty conqueror could become the sun; but we can readily imagine how the sun, in poetic imagery or hieroglyphic painting, might be equipped like a hero, and at length

worshipped as a god,"* nor is it difficult to point out the way by which the worship of men and of animals may have been derived from that superstition which represents all nature as animated, and pays religious veneration to its various parts.

These reflections might lead us to suspect, that many of the stories relating to the Egyptian gods had their origin in figurative descriptions and

* Nothing is more common in poetry than such a figure. A striking example occurs in the beginning of the Phœnissæ:

Ω τὴν ἐν αστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβὼς δίφροις
Ηλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα.

So natural are these figures, that we find in Shakespeare lines which are almost a translation of the foregoing:

"As when the golden sun salutes the morn,
And, having gilt the ocean with his beams
Gallops the zodiac in his glistring coach."

The same imagery is found in Nonnus's poem, clothed in the gorgeous style that distinguishes the writers of his age:

Αστροχίτων Ηρακλες, ἄναξ πυρὸς, ὄρχαμε κόσμου,
Ηέλιε, ϐροτέοιο ϐίου δολιχόσκιε ποιμὴν,
ἱππεύων ἑλικηδον ὅλον, πόλον ἄιϐοπι δίσκῳ,
ὑια χρόνου λυκάϐαντα δυωδεκάμηνον ἑλίσσων
κυκλον ἄγεις μετὰ κύκλον.

"Heracles, girt in star-bespangled robes,
Thou fiery ruler of the spacious world!
Shepherd of mortals, darting far askant
The lengthened shadow; who on high dost ride
In circles vast the orbit of the day;
Rolling around, on never-ceasing wheels,
The annual term that bears twelve waning moons."

allusions; but what is far more conclusive on this point is, that we are assured that the best-informed,* even among the ancient priesthood of Egypt, were aware that many of their external rites bore a secret reference to something removed from vulgar apprehension, and that the fables that were related of their gods had originally an allegorical or recondite sense.

SECTION II.

Reference to the Mythologies of the Greeks and Romans.

Even in the mythologies of the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps more especially in the latter, there are many things which the learned are nearly unanimous in explaining in this way; and it does not require a very abstruse research into the classical fables of antiquity, to perceive that a great part of their theology resolves itself into physical observations or theories expressed in a mystical style, and quite different in their origin from historical traditions; though they appear to have become, at a later period, so intermixed with fragments of embellished or poetical history, that it is very difficult to distinguish these portions from each other. The chief objects of worship, among the ancient Greeks and Romans,† are explained by the most learned of their own antiquarians, as personifications of the

* Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride in præfat. Origen adv. Celsum. lib. i. pag. 11. Iamblich. Vit. Pythagor. cap. 23.

† Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii, prœm. et cap. 1.

elements or as merely allegorical beings. Such obviously was Minerva, or Wisdom, who sprang from the head of Jupiter. Vesta, according to Ovid, was fire, the animating principle of nature.

"Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellige flammam."*

"Nor deem thou Vesta other than the flame
"Of living, lambent fire."

But Euripides interprets Vesta as the earth.

καὶ Γαῖα μῆτερ· Εστίαν δὲ σ' οἱ σοφοὶ
βροτῶν καλοῦσιν, ἡμένην ἐν αἰθέρι.†

"Thou mother Earth, whom wisest men proclaim,
"Vesta, self-poised in circumambient air."

Jupiter is allowed by all to have been the visible firmament personified. As such, he is described in the following beautiful lines of Euripides:‡

Ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόν θ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις,
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόν θ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

"Behold on high the etherial element
"Boundless, upholding in its watery arms
"On every side out-stretched, this earthly globe;
"Such deem the mighty Jove, thy king, thy god."

* Ovid. Fasti. 6.

† Fragm. ex incert. Tragœd. citat. apud Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 23.

‡ Eurip. Fragment. Cressarum.

The same idea is conveyed in a well-known verse of Ennius, quoted by Cicero:

"Aspice hoc sublime caudens, quem invocant omnes Jovem."

Accordingly, the thunderbolt was wielded by the hand of Jupiter, and, as ruler of storms and showers, he received the titles of Ομβριος and *Pluvius*.* He is represented as having his seat on the cloud-capped summit of a mountain, Ida or Olympus, or as ruling aloft in the air.

Ops, the wife of Saturn, according to Macrobius, was the Earth.† Saturn himself, as his name indicates, was the Sowing of seed which fertilizes the Earth, and causes her to produce her offspring. Such was the description of Ops, or Fatua, in the Pontifical books; and, as representing the Earth, she was adored with the sacrifice of a pregnant sow. The Grecian Cronus, who differed from the Roman Saturn, represented, according to an old interpretation which we owe to the same author, Time, or that portion of eternity and of boundless space in which the existence of the present limited sphere is included. Cronus was begotten of Uranus, the infinite Heaven. He emasculated his sire; and the birth of Aphrodite, the goddess of propagation, was connected with this exploit. By this fable, says Macrobius, the ancient mystics meant to indicate, that, after the finite world was completed in all its parts, the productive or creative influences which had descended from the heavens on the earth and had called forth new creatures into being, were cut off,

* Tibull. lib. i. eleg. vii. v. 26. † Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i.

or entirely ceased; and that the maintenance of animal and vegetable nature was thenceforth supported by another method, viz. by that of propagation. This learned author always prefers physical explanations of the fables of the Greek and Roman mythology; and Varro, whom Cicero and St. Augustin* regard as the most profound of the Roman antiquarians, refers the Latin deities of the first order, such as Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, and Proserpine, to the elements or departments of the world.†

SECTION III.

Testimonies of the Ancient Writers respecting the Egyptian Mythology in general.

But if this method of interpreting has any application to the fables of the Greeks and Romans, it stands on a much firmer ground when applied to the mythologies and superstitious practices of the Egyptians. Indeed the most intelligent of the ancient writers, who have alluded to this subject, have assured us that the principal objects of Egyptian worship were those physical agents, whose operative energy is the most conspicuous in the phænomena of nature.‡

In the several *nomes* or provinces of Egypt, peculiar religious customs were established, and the

* St. Augustin. Civit. Dei. lib. vi. cap. 2. See Vossius de Origine et Progressu Idolotatriæ, lib. ii. where that writer has collected a great number of authorities on this subject.

† See Varro de Linguâ Latinâ, lib. iv. ubi de cœlestibus agitur.

‡ See Commentary on Chap. 1, Note A.

natives of each directed their devotions to particular deities.* But besides these separate superstitions, which however were all conceived in the same spirit, and, like the worship of favourite saints among the Roman Catholics, had more or less of relation to a connected system, the whole Egyptian people participated in the rites of Isis and Osiris, to which we may add those of Serapis, who, under a particular character, was identified with Osiris. The worship of these deities has been always regarded as the national religion of Egypt.† Let us observe in what manner the ancient writers speak of it.

"The first generation of men in Egypt," says Diodorus, "contemplating the beauty of the superior world, and admiring with astonishment the frame and order of the universe, supposed that there were two chief gods that were eternal, that is to say, the Sun and the Moon, the first of which they called Osiris, and the other, Isis, both names having proper etymologies; for Osiris, in the Greek language, signifies a thing with many eyes, which may be very properly applied to the sun, darting his rays into every corner, and, as it were, with so many eyes viewing and surveying the whole land and sea; with which the poet agrees, who says,

"Riding on high, the Sun all sees and hears."

Some also of the ancient Greek mythologists call Osiris, Dionysius, and surname him Sirius, amongst whom Eumolpus, in his Bacchanal verses,

* Herodotus, lib. ii. Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, lib. iv.

† Accordingly Plutarch entitled his essay on the religion of Egypt, "Περι Ισιδος και Οσίριδος."

"Dionysius darts his fiery rays.

And Orpheus,

"He is called Phanetes and Dionysius."

Some likewise set him forth clothed with the spotted skin of a fawn (called Nebris), from the variety of stars that surround him. Isis likewise, being interpreted, signifies ancient, that name being ascribed to the Moon from eternal generations. They add likewise horns to her, because her aspect is such in her increase, and in her decrease, representing a sickle; and because an ox, among the Egyptians, is offered to her in sacrifice. They hold that these gods govern the whole world, cherishing and increasing all things; and divide the year into three parts, viz. spring, summer, and winter, by an invisible motion, perfecting their constant course in that time; and though they are in their natures very different one from another, yet they complete the whole year with a most excellent harmony and consent. They say that these gods in their natures contribute much to the generation of all things, the one being of a hot and active nature, the other moist and cold, but both having something of the air; and that by these all things are both brought forth and nourished; and therefore that every particular being in the universe is perfected and completed by the Sun and Moon, whose qualities as before declared are five; a spirit or quickening efficacy, heat or fire, dryness or earth, moisture or water, and air, of which the world consists, as a man is made up of head, hands, feet, and other parts."

"These five objects were regarded as gods, and the people of Egypt, who first possessed an articulate language, gave names to each of them in their own dialect. They termed the spirit, or animating ether, Jupiter; fire, Vulcan; the earth, Demeter or Ceres; water, Oceanus; and the air, Minerva or Tritogenia.*"

Macrobius gives us the same general idea of the Egyptian superstition. He says, "It is well known that Osiris is the sun, and Isis the earth, or nature in general."† "Hence the Egyptians represent Osiris in their hieroglyphics by the figure of a sceptre containing an eye; by which they indicate that this god is the sun, and that he looks down from on high, like a monarch, on the sublunary world." Hence also, as the same author observes in another place, the images of Isis were formed with many breasts, indicating that Nature is the universal nurse, nourishing from her bosom an infinite and various progeny.

But a still more explicit testimony is that of Chæremon, one of the sacred scribes, an order which held a very dignified rank in the Egyptian priesthood, as the sole depositories of ancient learning. Porphyry, in his epistle to the priest Annebon, which contains a number of inquiries respecting the secret sense of the Egyptian mythology, has given a summary of the doctrine of Chæremon. The following is a translation of the passage that contains it.

"I wish to be informed," says Porphyry, "what opinion the Egyptians entertain concerning the first

* Diodorus, translated by Booth, Book I.

† Nec in occulto est, neque aliud esse Osirin quam solem, nec Isin aliud esse quam terram, naturamve rerum.—*Saturnalia*, lib. i.

cause; whether they conceive it to be intellect, or something distinct from intellect." "For Chæremon and others acknowledge nothing anterior to the visible worlds, taking the gods of the Egyptians as the foundation of their reasonings,* and acknowledging no other deities than the planets and the asterisms of the Zodiac with their paranatellons, the subdivisions of the signs called Decani, and Horoscopes, and those stars termed mighty chiefs, the names of which are inserted in the almanacks, together with their supposed influence in curing diseases, and the prognostics that were drawn from their risings and settings. For he observed that those Egyptians, who considered the Sun as the demiurge or creator, also referred the adventures of Osiris and Isis, and all the sacred fables, to the stars and their appearances, their settings and risings, or to the increases and wanings of the moon, or to the journey of the sun in the nocturnal or diurnal hemisphere, or to the river Nile; and in general that they give all their mythologues a physical explanation, and refer none of them to spiritual or living beings." He adds, that most of these persons connected human affairs with the motions of the stars, binding all things in the indissoluble chains of necessity, which they term fate, and making them depend on the divinities abovementioned, whom they revere in temples, and by means of statues and in other methods, as the only beings who have power over destiny.†

* The original passage is here manifestly corrupt; I have endeavoured to give the sense with as little alteration in the text as possible.

† Epist. Porphyrii præmiss. Iamblich. de Myster. Ægypt.

The opinion of Chæremon is cited by Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Preparation;* and that learned author concludes from it that the Egyptian theology, even in its recondite and isoteric sense, which was so much boasted of by the philosophers, referred to no other objects of worship than the stars and planets, and recognized or incorporeal principle, no invisible intelligence, as the productive cause of the universe.* The same passage has been cited by some authors of more recent date, whose object it has been to give a degrading picture of the science and learning of ancient Egypt.† In opposition to such writers, Dr. Cudworth, the strenuous advocate of the wisdom of antiquity, has adduced the testimony of Iamblichus, who, under the fictitious name of Abammon, has replied to the inquiries contained in the letter of Porphyry.‡ The following is a translation of the passage of Iamblichus, in which the opinion of Chæremon is alluded to.

"Chæremon, and some others who treat of the first causes of the phænomena of the world, enumerate in reality only the lowest principles; and those writers who mention the planets, the zodiac, and the decans and horoscopes, and the stars termed mighty chiefs, confine themselves to particular departments of the productive causes. Such topics

* Eusebius. Evan. Præp. lib. iii. cap. iv.

† Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System.

‡ Chæremon is also much extolled by Dupuis, who repeatedly cites his evidence, in order to prove that the idea of an intelligent and spiritual cause is a fiction of modern times, and that the philosophers of the ancient world were too wise to indulge in any such absurd reverie.

indeed as are contained in the almanacks, constitute but a very small part of the institutions of Hermes; and all that relates to the apparitions or occultations of the stars, or the increasings or wanings of the Moon, has the lowest place in the Egyptian doctrine of causes. Nor do the Egyptians resolve all things into physical qualities; but they distinguish both the animal and intellectual life from nature itself, not only in the universe, but in man. They consider intellect and reason, in the first place, as existing by themselves, and on this principle they account for the creation of the world." In the sentence which immediately follows, and of which Dr. Cudworth has taken no notice, Iamblichus proceeds to give this doctrine a form more consistent with other representations of the Egyptian philosophy. After observing that "they rank first the Demiurgus as the first parent of all things that are produced, and acknowledge that vital energy which is prior to, and subsists in the heavens, and place pure intellect at the head of the universe," he adds, that they "allot one invisible soul to the whole world, and another divided one to all the spheres."*

If we attentively consider this passage of Iamblichus, and divest it of the jargon of the later Platonic school, with which that author himself informs us that the Egyptians, who wrote after the Ptolemaic age, were accustomed to clothe the doctrines of Hermes or the native philosophy of Egypt, we shall find that it may easily be reconciled with the tenour of the evidence before adduced. By comparing

* Iamblichus de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum, sect. viii. cap. iv.

all that the ancients have left, concerning the superstitions of the Egyptians, we learn that the worship of that nation was directed towards physical objects, or the departments and powers of nature. It may be questioned whether the people had any exalted idea of the invisible author, as distinguished from his works. On the other hand, it is equally repugnant to reason, and to the testimonies of the ancient writers, to suppose that they paid adoration to inanimate bodies, regarding them as such. "This," says Dr. Cudworth, "would be a sottishness, and contradictious nonsense, that is not incidental to human nature." The Egyptians, as Iamblichus asserts in the passage above quoted, considered every part of the visible universe as endowed with an inherent life, energy, and intelligence; they worshipped the intelligent and active cause of the phænomena of nature, as it is displayed in its most striking and powerful agencies, but, as we shall hereafter find reason to conclude, without accurately discriminating the cause from the effect; or they believed, as men seem naturally prone to imagine, that the elements themselves were animated. "Such," says Eusebius, "was the doctrine of the Egyptians, from whom Orpheus deriving his theology, represented the universe as a god, formed or composed of a number of subordinate divinities as integrant parts of himself; for we have already shown," he adds, "that the Egyptians reckoned the departments of the world itself as gods."* The operations of the elements, described in a mystical

* Euseb. Evan. Præp. lib. iii. cap. ix.

and poetical style, were perhaps mistaken, by the vulgar, for the adventures of gods or dæmons; but the original sense of these theogonical fables would appear to have been merely physical, or founded on that species of paganism which Eusebius declares to be the most ancient, namely, the worship of nature.* Barbarous nations have ever regarded storms, winds, and the moving bodies in the heavens, as animated and guided by genii; and the same superstition, decorated and reduced to a system of mystical representations, appears to have been the popular religion of the most cultivated nations of antiquity.

* Varro affirmed that the forms, decorations, and whole attributes of the gods, were invented as sensible representations, in which men might contemplate and revere the true gods. These, according to him, were the soul of the world, and its parts, which were distributed to the heaven, earth, air, sky, land, water. See St. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. vii. c. 5 and 6.

But, besides these physical deities, Varro enumerated a series of gods, or dæmons, who presided over all the acts of a man's life, even the most trivial, from Janus, who ushered him into the world, to Nænia, the goddess of the songs recited at old men's funerals. Ibid. cap. ix. lib. 6.

SECTION IV.

Attempt to penetrate further into the Meaning of the Egyptian Fables. Analysis of the Orphic Fictions, and other Mystical Representations derived from Egypt.

Such is the general view which the ancients give us of the religion of the Egyptians; and thus far we advance on tolerably safe ground, because the evidence on which we rely is nearly unanimous. But when we attempt to proceed further, and to analyse the particular portions of this intricate system of mythology, we find the sources of our information extremely defective. It seems too probable that before the time of the Greek writers, who have given us the most extensive discourses on these topics, the interpretation of many allegorical fictions was either wholly lost, or had become the subject of doubtful speculation. Hecatæus and Herodotus, who travelled in Egypt during the period when its native hierarchy still flourished, saw only the outward form of its mythology, or have studiously concealed their knowledge of its recondite sense. It is only through the medium of the doctrines of the Pythagoreans and the followers of Thales, and the older philosophy of Orpheus, which were the lessons of the initiated, that we can hope to penetrate the veil of Egyptian mystery, and become acquainted with the dogmas that were delivered in secret to the pupils of the thrice-great Hermes.

The Orphic fragments contain the oldest specimens of the sacerdotal philosophy of the Greeks, or

of those mystical interpretations of the popular superstition which were preserved among the hierophants, who transplanted the worship of the gods from the banks of the Nile to the hamlets of Argos and Attica. It probably received corrections and additions, from time to time, from learned Greeks who travelled into the East, and studied in the Egyptian schools. The Orphic verses themselves were chiefly the works of Pythagoreans. They contain that representation of the system of the world which has been termed Pantheism, declaring all the departments of nature to be animated by living powers, which are portions of the supreme or universal soul, into whose essence all finite beings are resolved. Sometimes the entire universe is represented as one great living whole; at others, its parts are spoken of as having an individual nature, which has emanated from and will again be resolved into the universal being. The former of these ideas is conveyed by the following verses cited by Eusebius from the works of Porphyry.*

Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα, Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων,
ἓν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἀιθηρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ·
(καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτος γενέτωρ, καὶ Ερως πυλυτερπής)
πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται·
τοῦ δήτοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὅν χρύσεαί ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται.

Procl. in Tim. p. 95. Euseb. Præp. Evang.

" Jupiter is the foundation of the earth and the starry heaven: Jupiter is the root of the ocean; he is the sun and the moon: He is one power, one dæmon, the great ruler of all. He is one mighty body, in which fire, water, earth, ether, night and day revolve: all these are contained within the great body of Jupiter. Would you view his head and majestic face? Behold the radiant heaven: his golden ringlets are diffused on every side, shining with resplendent stars."

Similar ideas are contained in the following lines, preserved by Proclus, in his Commentary upon the Timæus.*

τούνεκα σὺν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντος ἐτύχθη
ἀιθέρος εὐρείης, ἠδ οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὸν ὕψος,
πόντου δ' ἀτρυγέτου, γαίης δ' ἐρικυδέος εὕρη,
ὠκεανός τε μέγας, καὶ νείατα τάρταρα γαίης
καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος, ἄλλα τε πάντα.
πάντες δ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ, ἠδε θέαιναι,
ὅσσα δ' ἔην γεγαῶτα, καὶ ὕστερον ὁππόσ' ἐμελλεν
ἐγγένετο· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει.

" The splendid lights of that etherial vault,
The empyrean and the nether sky,
The barren sea, and wide-spread continents
Supporting stately realms, the ocean vast,
The depths of Tartarus, and boundless lakes;
The mighty rivers; all that earth contains,
With all the immortal host, the goddesses
And gods, and all that was or e'er shall be—
All these have grown and are contained within
The all-teeming womb of universal Jove."

* Procl. in Timæum, 2, p. 95, 34. Gesner's Orphica, p. 365.

The idea of emanations from the universal soul animating bodies of various kinds, occurs in the works of several poets, in which fragments of the old Orphic doctrine are scattered. It is beautifully expressed by Virgil, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of the ancients.

Principio cœlum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.*

"Know first, that heaven and earth's compacted frame,
And flowing waters, and the starry flame,
And both the radiant lights, one common soul,
Inspires, and feeds, and animates the whole.
This active mind, infused through all the space,
Unites and mingles in the common mass.
Hence men and beasts the breath of life obtain,
And birds of air and monsters of the main."†

All individual beings were represented as proceeding from the essence of the universal deity by a mystical generation, which is described under various types. Sometimes Jupiter is feigned to be both male and female, and is said to produce all things from himself.

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος
Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μεσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τετυκται·
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη.*

* Virgil. Æneid, lib. vi. ver. 721. † Dryden's Virgil.

"Jupiter is the first, Jupiter the last, the ruler of thunder; Jupiter is the head and the middle; all things are produced of Jove. Jupiter is a male, Jupiter is an immortal nymph."

Hence the epithet, so often given to Jupiter, of ἀρσενοθηλὺς or masculo-feminine. The doctrine distinguished by this epithet is represented, by Damascius, as the fundamental principle of the Orphic philosophy.

But the most prevalent representation was that which divided the physical agencies of the universe into male and female.* The more powerful movements of the elements, storms and winds, thunder and lightning, meteors, the genial showers which descend from the etherial regions on the bosom of the Earth, the rays of the sun, and the supposed influences of the stars, were the energetic or masculine powers of nature, and were regarded as the agencies of the male deity; while the prolific Earth herself, the region of sublunary and passive elements, was the universal goddess, the consort of the celestial Jove. This is the celebrated fiction of the mystic marriage of heaven and earth, which forms the foundation of all the pagan cosmogonies and poetical rhapsodies on the origin of gods and men. It is given by Virgil in its most obvious physical sense, and it is observed by

* Vossius has observed that this idea holds a principal place in the mythology of the ancients. He says, "In natura attendentes vim activam et passivam, eam et marem et fœminam dixere; marem illud, quod vim in alia exserit; fœminam, quæ vim alienam recipit, et quasi fœcundatur."—Vossius de Origine et Progressu Idololatriæ, lib. i.

St. Augustin, that this representation is not borrowed from the fictions of poetry, but from the philosophy of the antients.

> Vere tument terræ, et genitalia semina poscunt;
> Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus Æther;
> Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
> Magnus alit, magno commistus corpore, fœtus.*

In writing these verses, we may conjecture that Virgil had in his memory the following lines of Euripides, which express the same idea in very similar terms:

> ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς Ουρανὸς, πληρούμενος
> ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς Γαῖαν, Αφροδίτης ὕπο.†

Or the following verses of Lucretius:

> Postremo pereunt imbres ubi eos Pater Æther,
> In gremium Matris Terrai præcipitavit.‡

This physical allegory is expressed by some of the philosophical writers in a more formal manner. "Ut à summis causis exordiamur," says Proclus, "Cœlum et Terram quasi marem et fœminam respicere licet. Est enim Cœli motus qui ex diurnâ revolutione vires seminales edit, unde Terra quæ emanant recipit. Hæc feracem reddunt et efficit ut fructus et animalia omnigena ex se producat." The same author observes, that this supposed relation was

* Georgic. lib. ii. ver. 324. † Fragment. Œdip.

‡ De Rerum Natura, lib. i. ver. 251. See also Dr. Musgrave's Dissertation on the Grecian Mythology, p. 20.

termed, in the mystical language, "γαμος," and that the Athenian laws ordained accordingly, that newly married persons should sacrifice first to the Heaven and Earth, and that in the mysteries of Eleusis these elements were invoked and addressed by names, which characterised them as father and mother of all generated beings: these mystic names were ὑιὲς for the Heaven, and τοκυῖα for the Earth.*

Varro has given a similar account of the ancient mythology in general. "Principes Dei, Cœlum et Terra. Hi dei iidem qui in Ægypto Serapis et Isis; qui sunt Taautes et Astarte apud Phœnicas; et iidem principes in Latio, Saturnus et Ops."†

Apollodorus‡ and Plutarch§ deliver the same testimony. The latter of these writers remarks, that men, from observing the harmonious phænomena of the heavens, as well as the generation of plants and animals upon the earth, came to regard the Heaven as the Father of all, and the Earth as the Mother—"τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Οὐρανὸς, πατὴρ, διὰ τὸ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκχύσεις σπερμάτων ἔχειν τάξιν, ἡ δε Γῆ μήτηρ, διὰ το δέχεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ τικτειν."

Macrobius attributes this representation to the philosophers of the Platonic school. "Some writers," he observes, "have divided the world into two regions, of which one is active, the other passive nature. The first they term active, because, being immutable itself, it brings into operation those causes which necessarily excite changes in the other;

* Procl. in Timæum. lib. v. p. 291.

† Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. iv.

‡ Apollodorus in initio.

§ Plutarch. de Placitis Philosoph. lib. i. cap. 6.

the latter is called passive, because it undergoes variations in its state. The immutable region of the world extends from the sphere termed *Aplanes* to the orbit of the Moon; the mutable department, from the lunar orbit to the earth."* This fiction was derived by the Platonists from their predecessors, the Pythagoreans. It is found indeed in a still more explicit form, in the works of Ocellus Lucanus, the Pythagorean.†

In the Samothracian mysteries, which seem to have been the most anciently established ceremonies of this kind in Europe, we are informed by Varro, that the Heaven and Earth were worshipped as a male and female divinity, and as the parents of all things. A well-known part of the ceremonies, performed in these and other mystic solemnities, were the rites of the *phallus* and *kteis*;‡ and Diodorus assures us that the physical theory above described was the subject typified by these emblems.

The same idea occurs frequently in the Greek poets. Euripides, who has embodied in his poems many curious pieces of the mystical allegory of the ancients, has set it forth emphatically in the following lines.§

Γαῖα μεγίστη, καὶ διος Αἰθὴρ,
Ο μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,

* Macrobii Somnium Scipionis, lib. i. cap. 11.

† Ocellus Lucanus. See also the Commentary on Chapter I., Note B., below.

‡ The same symbol was used in the festivals of Ceres and Proserpine in Sicily, as we learn from Athenæus, lib. xxv.

§ Fragment. Chrysippi. apud Macrob. Sat. lib. i.

ἠδ' ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίους
παραδεξαμένη, τίκτει θνατοὺς
τίκτει δὲ βοράν, φυλά τε θηρῶν·
ὅθεν οὐκ αδίκως
μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

O spacious Earth! and thou, celestial Air,
Who art the sire of gods and mortal men!
While she, the ambrosial mother, doth receive
The genial showers on her expanded breast,
Teeming with human offspring, and brings forth
The aliment of life, and all the tribes
That roam the forest; justly thence proclaimed
Mother of all.

The Sun being the most striking of the celestial elements, the male power was adored as residing and manifesting its most energetic influence in the solar orb. In those representations connected with the idolatry of the Syrians, which, as we shall see hereafter, was nearly allied to the fables of Egypt, we find the worship of the Sun involved in the figurative theology which we have already traced. Macrobius gives us the following account of the notions entertained by the Syrians, or Assyrians, concerning the power of the solar deity. "They give," he observes, "the name of Adad, which signifies *One*, to the god on whom they bestow the highest adoration. They worship him as the most powerful divinity, but join with him a goddess named Adargatis; and to these two deities, which are in fact the Sun and Moon, they ascribe supreme dominion over all nature. The attributes of this double divinity are not described in so many words; but, in symbols which are used to

denote that power that distributes itself through all the species of beings that exist. These symbols are emblematic of the Sun; for the image of Adad is distinguished by rays inclining downwards, which indicate that the influence of the heaven descends by the solar rays upon the earth; the image of Adargatis has the rays turned upwards, to show that all the progeny of the earth is called into being by the influence of emanations from above."

Thus in the Orphic verses the title of Zeus, or Jupiter, which we have seen appropriated to the universal deity in these poems, is applied, in other fragments, to the god of the solar orb,* who is addressed with the pantheistic epithets; as in the following verses cited by Macrobius.

κέκλυθι τηλεπόρου δίνης ἑλικαυγέα κύκλον,
οὐρανίαις στροφαλιγξι περίδρομον αἰὲν ἐλίσσων
ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ, Διόνυσε, πάτερ πόντου, πάτερ αἴης,
Ηλιε παγγενέτορ, παναίολε, χρυσεοφεγγές.

"O thou who whirlest thy radiant globe, rolling on celestial wheels, through the spacious vortex of heaven! glorious Jupiter! Dionusus, father of the sea and of the land! thou Sun! who art the genial parent

* The Sun is often described as the God who fertilises the sublunary world. Ο ἥλιος σπερμαίνειν λέγεται τὴν Φύσιν· says Eusebius.* "The Sun is said to render nature prolific." Macrobius asserts the same thing. "Deus hic inseminat, progenerat, fovit, nutrit, maturatque."†

* Euseb. P. Evang. lib. iii. c. xiii. † Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xxvii.

of Nature, splendent with various hues, shedding streams of golden light!"

The active power, as residing in the Sun, is invoked under the name of Dionusus, or Liber. Thus Virgil.

Vos O clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cœlo qui ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres.

But it was in the rites of the same Liber that the mystical generation was celebrated; and he is continually identified with the Pantheistic Jove, in the mythological poems of the Greeks, as in the following verse, which expresses the sense of an oracle uttered from the shrine of Apollo Clarius.

εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ηλιος, εἷς Διονυσος.*

In referring to the first origin of all things, the same fiction was resorted to by the old mythologists of Greece; and Proclus has remarked that it lies at the foundation of all the ancient theogonies. Uranus and Ge, the Heaven and the Earth, were, according to Hesiod, the parents of all creatures. The Gods were the eldest of their progeny.

The celebrated Phœnician theogony of Sanchoniatho is founded on the same principles. Heaven and Earth, Uranus and Ge, whom some writers have ridiculously transformed into Noah and his Wife, are at the head of a genealogy of Æons, whose

* Procl. in Timæum. Gesner's Orphica.

adventures are conceived in the mystical style of these physical allegorists.

Several fragments remain of the old Orphic cosmogony, which abound with ideas of the same description. But we shall hereafter proceed to notice the theories of the Orphic as well as of the Egyptian philosophers, with reference to the first origin of the world. At present we are only considering those poetical fictions relating to the actual phænomena of nature, as connected with the annual returns of the seasons, which were celebrated by the rhapsodies of Greeks and Barbarians; and which, as we shall presently observe, were the chief objects of those fantastic superstitions that were carried on with so much pomp and revelry on the banks of the Nile.

COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER I.

NOTE A. to Sect. I.

The opinion, that the gods of the ancient Egyptians, and the deities of the Pagan world in general, were originally deified mortals, has been very prevalent among Christian writers. This hypothesis has been maintained, chiefly with relation to the Egyptians, by Bishop Warburton, in his Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses.

The principal reliance of Warburton, in the prosecution of this argument, is placed on two passages from the ancient writers, which seem indeed to afford a very specious support to his conclusion. One of them is a citation from Cicero's Tusculan Questions, in which the author clearly affirms that many mortals had been reckoned among the celestial powers; and that, according to some ancient Greek writers, even the great gods, the "Dii majorum gentium," were of this number. It is also intimated that something to this effect was taught, or might be inferred from the mysteries.*

In order to elude the application of this testimony to the gods of Egypt, Jablonski has maintained that there was little or no connection between the superstitions that prevailed in that country, and those of the Greeks;† that the mysteries of the two nations were altogether distinct; but in this instance, he has directly against him the authority of all antiquity, and particularly that of Herodotus, who plainly asserts that the names and offices of nearly all the Grecian gods were of Egyptian origin.‡

* Tusc. Disp. lib. i. cap. 13.

† Jablonski Pantheon Ægypt. Prolegom. ‡ Herod. lib. ii.

This testimony, from such a writer as Herodotus, is not to be disputed: but we may observe that it does not appear to be necessarily connected with the inference which Warburton has founded upon it. It may well be imagined that the rites and attributes, and even many of the names, of the Grecian gods, may have been originally derived from a mythology, founded on very different principles from the deification of men; yet that they may have become subsequently associated with the memory of celebrated warriours, or the worship of heroes. We find nearly a parallel instance in the history of the northern nations. The first Odin was an ancient god of the Gothic tribes before the era of their emigration from the wilds of Scythia. There are many circumstances which render it probable that he was the Indian Buddha, who is still adored by the roving nations of northern Asia, from China to the Caspian sea. But the Scandinavian hero, whose adventures are celebrated in the Edda, was a chieftain who lived at a comparatively late period, and who seems to have assumed the name of the god, in order to facilitate his conquests, and secure the veneration of his people.*

In like manner it would appear that the Egyptian priests, who introduced into Greece the worship of each particular divinity, found it expedient, in order to facilitate the reception of foreign rites, to connect the object of their worship with some local traditions, and to engraft their allegorical mythologue on the legend of some chieftain, whose barbarian achievements were already the theme of popular song. It was probably in this way that the rites of Ammon, who was worshipped at Diospolis under the form of a ram, or of a statue with a ram's head, became identified with Zeus, a king of Crete, whose tomb was long afterwards to be seen on mount Ida. It was perhaps thus that the attributes of Bacchus or Osiris, which were older by many centuries than the foundation of the Cadmeian Thebes, came to be ascribed to a Bœotian prince, who was celebrated as the leader of festive mirth.

* See Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

And it was in the same manner that a brave hunter, the son of Alcmena, might be identified with the imaginary hero of twelve mystical adventures, which perhaps typify the progress of the Sun through the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμιῶν ἆθλα διέρπων.

But although the mythology of Egypt might thus become incorporated in the traditional fables of the Pelasgi, by means of which the members of an imaginary theocracy acquired for themselves in Greece a local habitation and a name, it would appear that the abstract, or allegorical parts of the ancient system were still preserved without any material alteration. The festivals also continued to be solemnized nearly in the same manner, and with similar allusions to the seasons, and to their old physical explanation ; and Greeks who visited Egypt, in subsequent ages, were struck by the general conformity of its superstitions with their own.

Another passage, adduced by Warburton in support of his opinion, has an immediate and conclusive reference to the Egyptian theology. St. Augustin and St. Cyprian mention a letter supposed to have been written by Alexander the Great, from Egypt, to his mother Olympias. In this epistle the king of Macedon communicates a most important discovery, made to him by an Egyptian hierophant, who is absurdly enough called by a Greek name, Leon. The secret was, that not only the demigods, such as Picus, Faunus, Æneas, Romulus, Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Castor, Pollux, but also the gods of the greater families, to whom Cicero is supposed to allude in his Tusculan Questions, though without naming them, viz. Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Vesta, and many others, whom Varro would refer to the elements and departments of the universe, were in reality only mortal men. St. Augustin adds that the priest, fearing lest the secret which he had communicated should be divulged, begged Alexander to request his mother Olympias to burn his letter as soon as she had read it.*

* Augustin. Civit. Dei. lib. viii. cap. 5.

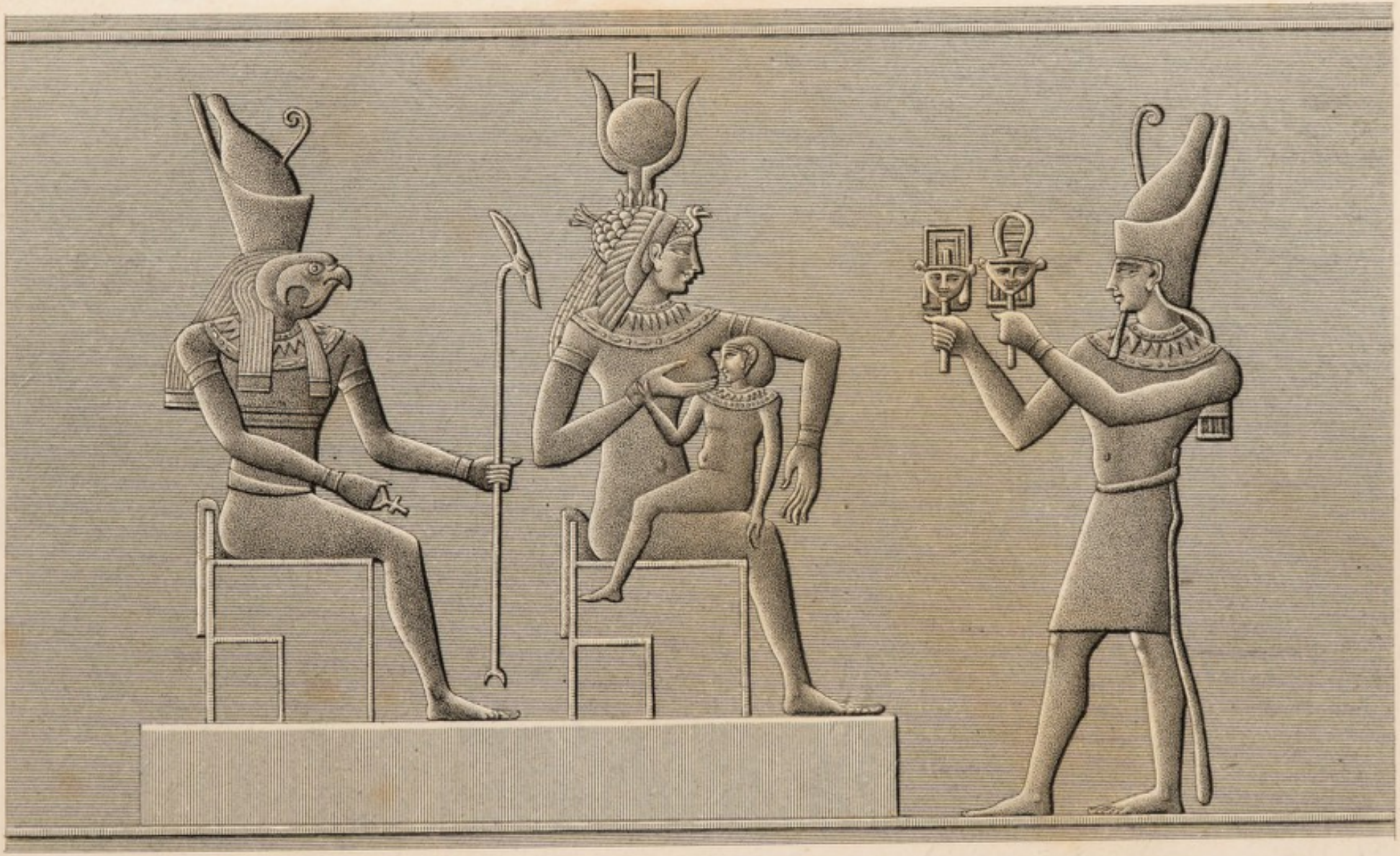
It is only necessary to read this fragment, as St. Augustin has given it, to be convinced that it is spurious ; and the only remarkable circumstance is, that so learned and judicious a writer could be imposed upon by such a palpable forgery. That Warburton has chosen to avail himself of it, because it suited his purpose, is not so much a matter of surprize. Jablonski has taken more trouble than seemed to be necessary, in order to prove that this document is quite unworthy of credit.*

NOTE B. TO SECT. IV.

Ocellus divides all nature into generative causes, and passive or prolific principles. The theatre of the former is the region above the lunar sphere; the sublunary world contains the latter. The first of these regions is filled with imperishable and immutable essences; the second, with beings subject to perpetual vicissitude. All the changes in the sublunary world are produced by the Sun, as he approaches or recedes from it.

The sphere of the Moon forms the boundary line between these two regions of the world. Hence, as it would appear from the authors cited above, was derived the fiction which makes the Moon the chief seat of passive production, the abode of the Φυσις Πολυμορφος, or Natura Multiformis, and identifies her with Ceres, Isis, Diana, Latona, the powers presiding over child-birth, and all the prolific operations of nature. —See Ocellus Lucanus, περὶ τοῦ παντος, cap. ii. apud Opuscula Mythologica.—*T. Gale.* Vossius, de Orig. et Prog. Idololatriæ, lib. ii. Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, tom. ii. chap. 7, and compare Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, cap. xliii.

* Jablonski in Panth. Egypt. Prolegom.



CHAPTER II.

OF THE WORSHIP OF ISIS AND OSIRIS, HORUS AND TYPHON.

SECTION I.

Recapitulation of the Orphic Doctrine. Orphic Dionusos and Damater, compared with Osiris and Isis. Legend of Osiris and Isis.

We have briefly surveyed the most important tenets of the Orphic philosophy, or of that system of allegories into which the hierophants, who transplanted into Greece the superstitions of the Nile, resolved the fables of their mythology. We have seen that this doctrine was, in its foundation, a system of pantheism. It contemplated the whole of nature as animated by an all-pervading soul, portions of which, sometimes represented as existing individually, at other times regarded as essential parts of the common vital spirit of the world, were distributed to the elements, and to all the departments of the visible universe. We have observed that the mythological poets, in attempting to account for the generation of sublunary beings, had recourse to analogies drawn from the annual processes of nature; that they sometimes represented the pantheus, or soul of the world, as masculo-feminine, or of two sexes; but more commonly distinguished the active and passive powers, which nature seemed to display, describing the former

in a figurative manner, as the agencies of the parent god, and the latter as the productive attributes of the universal mother; that these divisions nearly corresponded with those of the celestial and sublunary worlds, whence the phrases and epithets, which are so frequent among the Greek and Roman poets, and which recur almost as often as any allusion is made to the chief objects of their worship. We have seen also that the god, or rather the masculine soul of nature, is represented as holding his seat in the orb of day, and guiding its movements. In this character he is invoked in the Orphic hymns, by the names of Zeus and Dionusos, which correspond with the Diespiter or Jupiter, and the Liber Pater of the Romans. Lastly, the female divinity, Damater, or Ceres, is, by some ideal process which it is not so easy to analyse, transferred from the Earth, or from the sphere of sublunary nature, to the Moon; and the Sun and Moon are regarded as the god and goddess of the world, manifesting themselves in a visible shape. We must now return to the more scanty mythological fragments of the Egyptians, from whom we are assured, by the testimony of all antiquity, that the Greeks derived their arts and civilization, and more especially their mysteries and theological fictions. We shall proceed to a more particular examination, and endeavour to trace in what manner the Egyptians developed those principles that were common to them and to the mystical poets of the early ages of Greece.

We have shown by quotations from Diodorus, Macrobius, Chæremon, and others, to which a long list of authorities might easily be added, that the

objects of worship among the Egyptians were the elements and departments of nature. As the Greeks and Romans, though they identified their Bacchus, or Liber Pater, with the Sun, and their Ceres with the Moon, or with sublunary Nature, personified them in poetry, and recited their fabulous adventures; so we find that the career of Isis and Osiris was celebrated by the Egyptians in a train of allegorical fictions, conceived in that singular style which characterizes all the works of this people.

The legend of Isis and Osiris, connected with the adventures of three other fabulous beings which are interwoven with their story, forms a considerable part of the Egyptian mythology. Osiris, Typhon, and Aroueris, or the elder Horus, constitute a Triad of gods, who received supreme honours in all the districts of Egypt. Isis and Nephthys were the consorts or passive representatives of the two former. Concerning Aroueris, we have scarcely any information; but the contests of Osiris and Typhon, hold almost as conspicuous a place in this system of fictions, as the wars of Jupiter and the Titans, and those of Ormuzd and Ahriman in the mythologies of Greece and Persia.

It might perplex us to find the name of Serapis associated with that of Isis, in many of the Egyptian superstitions, in the place of Osiris, if we were not expressly assured by many authors, that Serapis and Osiris were in reality the same person. Plutarch informs us, that Serapis was the name by which Osiris was called after he had changed his nature, or had descended to the infernal regions.

We possess several abstracts of the story of Isis

and Osiris. The narrative given by Plutarch seems to be the most faithful and genuine. His epitome of this legend has the air of a piece of mystical poetry, and displays the true style of Egyptian fiction. Diodorus has adorned it with many decorations, evidently borrowed from the fabulous poetry of the Greeks. He has endeavoured to give it the appearance of an historical narrative, and has comprised in it many circumstances which do not appear to have belonged to the legend in its original form. Thus he attributes to Osiris a variety of actions, such as the founding of cities, which other writers, and even this historian himself in his Egyptian Annals, have ascribed to the earliest kings of Thebais. Synesius has given us another version of this story, extending to a considerable length, and he has introduced many variations in the recital, in order to accommodate it to an allegorical sense, which probably was never contemplated by the old Egyptians.*

Both Diodorus and Plutarch commence this story with a singular fable, relating to the birth of the three gods and two goddesses whose adventures it celebrates. They were brought forth by Rhea, on the five intercalary days, which were added to the twelve Egyptian months in order to complete the year. Osiris, Aroueris, and Typhon, were born on the three first days, and Isis and Nephthys on the two last. The two former were the offspring of the Sun, Isis of Mercury, and Typhon and Nephthys of Saturn. At the birth of Osiris a voice was heard, proclaiming that "the ruler of all the Earth was born."

* Synesii Opera. Ægyptius sive de Providentia. Vide Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom x.

This fable appears, as Jablonski has remarked, to be an enigmatical statement, devised for some astronomical purpose. It rather belongs to the Egyptian calendar than to the theology of the country, and was probably invented when the five intercalary days were superadded to the three hundred and sixty contained in the old year of twelve months. It is entirely detached from the remainder of the mythologue, of which the following brief summary comprises the most remarkable circumstances.

Osiris, the "Lord of the Earth," or the "Many eyed," or the "Power energetic and productive of good," as some interpreted his name, called also Omphis, which, according to Hermæus, signified the "Benefactor," is represented as a great and powerful king, who, setting out from Egypt, traversed the world, leading a host of fauns and satyrs, and other fabulous beings, in his train, whose images are seen among the constellations. He civilized the whole earth, and taught mankind every where to fertilize the soil, and perform the works of agriculture. He is chiefly known among the poets, as the author of this art.

Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris
Et teneram ferro solicitavit humum;
Primus inexpertis commisit semina terræ
Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.

TIBULL. *lib.* i. *Eleg.* vii.

Hence the Van, the "mystica vannus Iacchi," which is always seen in the hand of Osiris, in the

Egyptian sculptures, and which was carried in the Grecian festivals of Bacchus. He was invoked by the Thyades with the epithet "Λικνίτης," or bearer of the Van,* and we find him so described by Orpheus.†

Λικνίτην Διόνυσον ἐπ' εὐχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω.

"With these vows I invoke Bacchus, bearer of the Van."

The Grecian Bacchus was thus far a perfect copy of the Egyptian, and the pomps, or Bacchanalian processions, celebrated in memory of his expedition, were an exact counterpart of the march of Osiris. Bacchus, like Osiris, assumed the form or the visage of a Bull. We find him thus invoked in the Orphic hymns.‡

ἐλθὲ μάκαρ Διόνυσε, πυρίσπορε ταυρομέτωπε
Βάσσαρε καὶ Βακχεῦ, πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα.

"Haste, blest Dionusus, of the thunderbolt
Engendered, Bassarus or Bacchus called,
Bull-visaged, king of many names and powers."§

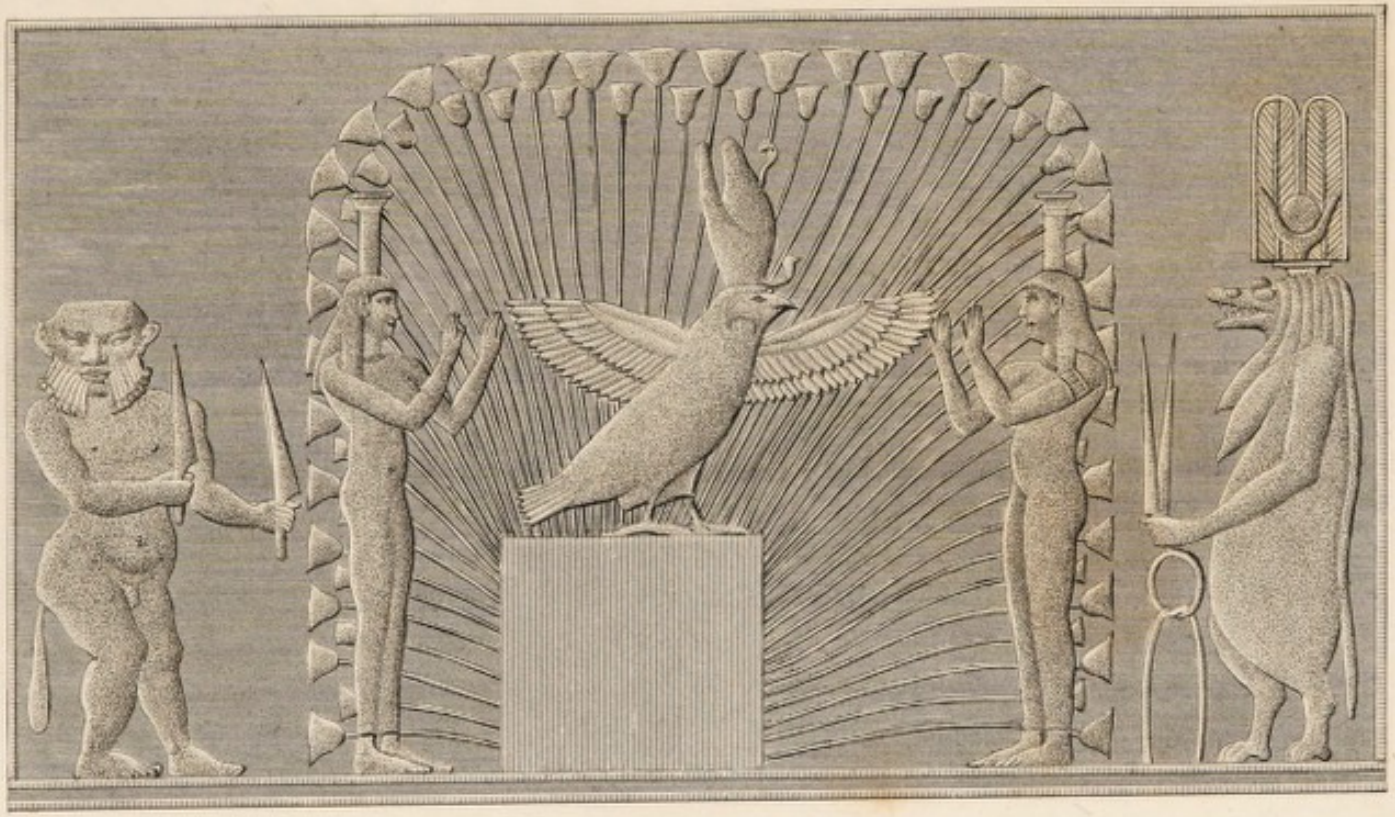
On the return of Osiris to Egypt, Typhon laid a stratagem for him, and contrived, in the midst of a banquet, to shut him up in a chest which exactly

* Plut. Isid. 85.

† Gesner's Orphica, p. 240. ‡ Ibid.

§ Plutarch informs us that his images were often made by the Greeks in the shape of a Bull, and that the Elean women called upon the god "who comes upon the feet of an ox."







Osiris.

Typhonian Figures.

Isis.

fitted his body. He was nailed down in this prison, and conveyed to the shore of the river, where the chest, being thrown into the Nile, floated down to the sea by the Tanitic mouth, "which, for this reason," says Plutarch, "is still held in the utmost horror by the Egyptians, and never named but with marks of detestation." These events took place on the seventeenth day of the month Athyri, when the Sun was in Scorpio, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris, or, as others say, of his life.

The first persons who discovered this catastrophe, were the Fauns and Satyrs who inhabited the country about Chemmis. As soon as Isis was made acquainted with it, she immediately cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning-robes. She then wandered to and fro, over the whole country, full of anxiety, in search of the chest, and inquired of every person she met, what had become of it, until some children, who accidentally fell in her way, having chanced to witness its fate, told her by which mouth of the Nile the vessel had been transmitted to the sea.

At length Isis was informed that the chest had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of Byblos, and there lodged in the branches of a tamarisk-bush, which quickly shot up and became a large and beautiful tree, growing round the chest, and enclosing it on every side, so that it could not be seen. The king of the country, amazed at the vast size the tree had so speedily acquired, ordered it to be cut down, and made of it a pillar to support the roof of his palace; the chest being still concealed in the

trunk. These things being made known to Isis by a supernatural voice, she went to Byblos, and sitting down silently to weep by the side of a fountain, was at length accosted by the damsels of the queen, who happened to arrive at the same place. On this occasion, it is related that the goddess suddenly diffused from her person a miraculous odour, of wonderful fragrance, upon all around her. The queen, having heard of this supernatural phænomenon, sent for her, and appointed her to be a nurse to one of the king's children. Isis fed the infant by giving it her finger to suck, instead of her breast; she likewise put him every night into the fire, to consume his mortal part, while, transforming herself into a swallow, she hovered round the pillar, and bemoaned her sad fate. It happened at length that some circumstance excited a suspicion in the queen respecting the conduct of the nurse. She secretly observed Isis, and, seeing the infant surrounded by flame, was seized with terror, cried out, and thus deprived the child of immortality. The goddess then, discovering herself, requested that the pillar which supported the roof might be given to her. She took it down, and, cutting it open with care, took out the enclosed sarcophagus of Osiris, and throwing herself upon it, uttered so loud a lamentation, that the youngest of the king's children was frightened to death. The eldest she took with her, and placing the coffin in a vessel, set sail for Egypt. As she passed the river Phædrus, early in the morning, it sent forth a sharp and rough air, whereupon Isis, in her anger, dried up its stream.

Being arrived at a desert place, she opened the coffin, and embracing the corse of her husband, wept bitterly, when, the child creeping behind her and discovering the cause of her grief, she turned herself round, and threw upon him so fierce a look, that he died with terror. She returned to Egypt, and brought the body of her husband with her. At some time after her arrival, going to visit her son Horus, who was bred up at Boutos, she deposited the chest in a remote place; but Typhon, hunting by moonlight, happened to meet with it, and recognizing the corse, divided it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered about the country. Isis, learning this, went in search of the dispersed remains of her husband's body, sailing over the fenny parts of the country in a boat made of papyrus. She recovered all the fragments except one, which, having been thrown into the Nile, had been devoured by the Lepidotus, Phagrus, and Oxyrhynchus. Thesefishes the Egyptians consequently held in abomination. "Instead of it, she consecrated the Phallus, which is still used in the solemnities of the Egyptians." Osiris afterwards returned from the shades, and appeared to his son Horus, who vanquished Typhon in battle and took him prisoner; but Isis set him at liberty. Whereupon Horus was so much enraged, that he tore off his mother's diadem; but Hermes placed upon her head a helm, in the shape of the head of an ox. Osiris having returned from the subterranean realms, Isis became pregnant, and bore the infant Harpocrates, premature and weak in his lower limbs. It seems that the story originally contained an account of the dismemberment of Horus and beheading of Isis, which

Plutarch has chosen to omit, as too degrading to the character of such august personages.

SECTION II.

Interpretation of the Legend of Isis and Osiris.

In the foregoing section, we have mentioned the principal circumstances comprised in the celebrated legend of Isis and Osiris. It now remains to collect the observations which the ancient writers have left us, with a view to the interpretation of this enigmatical story, and to determine in what light it must be considered.

Nothing is more obvious than that it is a fiction, in the composition of which, the narrative of real occurrences can have had little or no share. It is likewise evident that many of the incidents related in it are matters of pure fabrication, invented for the purpose of sanctioning or accounting for certain rites and observances, which had been in use from time immemorial among the Egyptians. Such is the story respecting the origin of phallic worship, a superstition which certainly took its rise from a very different source. The whole of the legend might well pass for a mere popular tale, without any meaning or assignable object, if it did not contain some circumstances, particularly the connection of several of the incidents with certain times of the year and with astronomical phænomena, which tend to confirm the assertion of

the ancient writers, who regard it as a physical allegory.

We have before observed that the Greek mythologists, under the name of Bacchus, personified the Sun, or the fertilizing principle of the elements, which was supposed to reside in the solar orb, and, by means of its light and heat to fecundate the region of passive or sublunary nature. Osiris is identified with Bacchus by all the Greek writers, particularly by Herodotus; and that Osiris bore the same relation to the Sun as Bacchus, we are assured by several authors already cited. Plutarch, indeed, mentions that the Egyptians were accustomed to clothe the statues of Osiris with a veil of the colour of flame, from an idea that the Sun was the visible body of this god, or of the good principle or beneficent power of nature; and he says that in their sacred hymns they invoked him as the divinity "who is concealed in the arms of the Sun."*

As we do not possess any complete and explicit interpretation of this mythologue, sanctioned by such testimony as might enable us to depend with confidence upon its authority, we must direct our attention to the series of festivals, and the nature of the religious ceremonies which were performed in a certain order through every year, in celebration of the whole train of mystical adventures. These we shall find to be connected with the changes of the seasons, and the most remarkable topics of the Sun's annual progress. The principal festivals, not only in Egypt, but in Syria, Phrygia, and Greece, and

* Plut. de Iside et Osir. cap. 52.

wherever similar rites of mythology prevailed, were solemnized at the latter end of the autumn, at the season when the leaves fall and the vital force of Nature seems to languish and become extinct, and again at the beginning of spring, when her productive energies appear to awaken to new activity. The superstitious rites that were practised at the former period were, in general, of a melancholy character, and consisted of mournful exhibitions and lamentations. At the latter, they were of a opposite description, and abounded in scenes of mirth and revelry. The fictitious incidents in the histories of the gods, which were respectively connected with these periods, were in harmony with the nature of the ceremonies exhibited, and the feelings excited by the aspects of nature. The adventures solemnized at the approach of winter were gloomy and sorrowful; in the spring they were joyous and triumphant. The following verses of Manilius describe the ideas and sentiments which may be supposed to have given origin, among barbarous people, to these customs.

" Nam rudis ante illos nullo discrimine vita
In speciem conversa, operum ratione carebat,
Et stupefacta novo pendebat lumine mundi;
Tum velut amissis mœrens, tum læta remotis
Sideribus, variosque dies, incertaque noctis
Tempora, nec similes umbras, jam sole regresso,
Jam properante, suis poterat discernere caussis."*

A passage of Macrobius, relating to the ceremonies performed in honour of Adonis in Syria, illustrates

* Manil. lib. i.

the character of these rites. "The worshippers of nature deified the upper hemisphere of the world under which we dwell, giving it the name of Venus, and termed the inferior hemisphere, Proserpine. Accordingly, the goddess of the Syrians, or Phœnicians, is feigned to lament when the Sun, in his annual progress through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, enters a part of the lower hemisphere, or that division which is considered as the inferior half. When the Sun arrives in the lower signs, and the days begin to shorten, Venus is represented as lamenting him, as if he were snatched away from her by death, and detained by Proserpine; that is to say, by the power which presides over the lower circle of the world and the Antipodes. Again, they pretend that Adonis is restored to Venus when the Sun, having made his way through the six inferior signs, begins to traverse the regions of our upper hemisphere, bestowing upon us an increase of light and longer days." "As soon as he has passed the vernal equinox, the goddess was said again to rejoice, the fields and pastures becoming now verdant with corn and fresh herbage, and the trees with new foliage." "It was on this account," says Macrobius, "that the ancients dedicated to Venus the month of April." He observes, that "Adonis was said to have been killed by a wild boar, which was an emblem of winter," and describes a statue representing the goddess "in the period of grief and lamentation, which was adorned with the symbols of Nature mourning in the wintry season." The same author subjoins, that the Phrygians worshipped Attis, and the Mother of the gods, with similar rites. He infers, that all these ceremonies certainly related

to the Sun, because, after the descent of the god into the nether world had been solemnized with mourning and lamentation, a period of mirth and joyful festivities ensued; the commencement of which happened exactly at the time, when the Sun overcomes the power of darkness, and renders the day longer than the night. The festival of rejoicing was celebrated on the day termed Hilaria,* that is on the twenty-fifth of March.†

We shall add the concluding remark of Macrobius, which is more important with respect to our present inquiry. "The same religious customs prevail in Egypt under different names; for it is well known that Osiris is no other than the Sun, and Isis than the Earth, or Terrene Nature; and the same circumstances which led to the worship of Adonis and Attis, give rise to the alternate repetitions of mournful and joyful festivals in the superstitions of Egypt."‡

Clemens Alexandrinus has remarked the affinity of all these mournful ceremonies of the Asiatics, and other fictions on which they are dependent, with the Thesmophoria, Scirrhophoria, and other solemnities, which were reported, as he says, to have been introduced from Egypt.§ Many authors remark the similitude which the ceremonies in honour of the Egyptian Osiris bore to those of the Syrian Adonis. In both, the disappearance of the god was commemorated with

* Macrobii. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 21.

† This was the day on which the Romans celebrated the termination of the winter and the vernal equinox.

‡ Macrob. ibid.

§ Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad gentes, p. 13, p. xx.

lamentations, and his restoration with joy and festivity,* and Salambo, the Syrian Venus, wandered about like Isis, lamenting her lost Adonis.†

It is to be regretted that we have not exact accounts of the periods at which all the festivals of the Egyptians returned. We have, however, sufficient assurance in general, that the mournful ceremonies of that people were solemnized at the decline of the year, and the joyful rites towards the return of spring, and that the former were connected with the misfortunes of Osiris and the grief of Isis, the latter with the re-appearance of the god, or with the renewal of his career.

One of the most explicit passages occurs in the commentary of Achilles Tatius on Aratus, which, according to Scaliger's opinion, was preserved from the works of Eudoxus, a writer whose testimony is of the highest authority.§ "The Egyptians," he says, "when they observed the Sun descending from the Crab towards Capricorn, and the days gradually diminish, were accustomed to lament, from the apprehension that the Sun was about to desert them entirely. This period coincided with the festival of Isis. But when the luminary began to return, and the days grew longer, they dressed themselves in white robes and crowned their heads with garlands." ‖

Julius Firmicus, though unwilling to admit an explanation that seemed to afford an apology for any pagan superstition, has given his testimony to the same facts. He says that those funereal rites and lamenta-

* Marsham. Chronicon Ægyptiacum, &c.

† Selden de Diis Syriis, syntagm. ii. cap. 4.

§ See Commentary on Chap. ii. Note A.

‖ Petavius de Doctrina Temporum, tom iii. p. 85.

tions which the Egyptians practised are explained by the defenders of Paganism in a physical sense. "Hanc volunt esse mortem Osiridis, cum fruges reddunt terræ; inventionem vero cum fruges genitali terræ fomento conceptæ, novâ rursus cœperint procreatione generari."

The poet Rutilius alludes to the joyful ceremonies practised in the spring, in his Itinerary, written at a time when the superstitions of Egypt were not yet extinct.

"Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
Mulcebant sociis pectora fessa jocis;
Illo quippe die tandem renovatus Osiris
Excitat in fruges germina læta novas."

Plutarch enters into a more minute detail concerning several of these festivals. The following is the account he has given of the ceremony relating to the disappearance or death of Osiris. It was on the seventeenth day of the Egyptian month Athyr, which answers to the thirteenth of November, when the Sun was in Scorpio, that Osiris was shut up in the fatal chest. Accordingly, on that day, the Aphanism, or disappearance of the god, was solemnized. "At this season," says our author, "when the Etesian winds abandon Egypt, and the Nile returns to its banks, and the land is desolated by the approach of winter—when, the length of night also encreasing, darkness prevails and the power of light is diminished, the Egyptian priests, among other mournful rites, covered a gilded cow with a pall of fine black linen, and exhibited it as an emblem of the lamentation of Isis. This ceremony was performed during four days successively, beginning at the

seventeenth of Athyr, to represent the four objects of lamentation at this season of the year, viz. first, the decrease of the Nile and the return of its waters to their channel; secondly, the cessation of the salutary northern winds, which were now extinguished by the prevalence of southern blasts; thirdly, the shortness of the day and the protracted length of night; and lastly, the desolate condition of the earth, now naked and destitute of herbage, while the trees are at the same time stripped of their leaves."* "Of a similar nature," says Plutarch, "were those various ceremonies which were celebrated among other nations at the same season, such as the Thesmophoria of the Athenians, (which were copied from the Egyptian† festival of Isis,) and the Epachthæ of the Bœotians," so termed from the grief of Ceres for the loss of her daughter Proserpine, who had been carried away to the infernal regions.‡ In this solemnity, the shrines of the goddess

* Plutarch. Isid. et Osir. cap. 39. † Ibid. cap. 69.

‡ We have seen that the Grecian Ceres corresponds with the Egyptian Isis. The grief of Ceres at the loss of her daughter, who was carried away to the infernal regions, was substituted by the Greeks for the sorrow of Isis at the disappearance of Osiris; and these events were solemnized at the same season. Bacchus also, the Grecian Osiris, descended to Hades; and Bacchus and Ceres, after their descent, seem to have been metamorphosed into Pluto and Hecate. So Osiris, after his descent, became Serapis; and Isis, as we shall see hereafter, underwent a similar change of name and character. The double character of Bacchus, or Osiris, is alluded to in the following lines of Ausonius:

Αιγυπτου μὲν Ὄσιρις ἐγὼ, Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης,
Βάκχος ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν, ἐνὶ φθιμένοις Ἀϊδωνεὺς
πυρογενὴς, δίκερως, τιτανολέτης, Δίονυσος. AUSON. *Eclog.*

were carried up and down in procession. "Now the common time," says Plutarch, "for the solemnization of all these festivals, was within that month in which the Pleïades appear, and the husbandmen sow their corn, which the Egyptians call Athyr, the Athenians, Pyanepsion, and the Bœotians, Damatrius." "The Phrygians," he continues, "also suppose their god to sleep during the winter, and to awaken in the summer, and at one time they celebrate his retiring to rest, and at another, with mirth and revelry, rouse him from his slumbers. The Paphlagonians pretend that he is bound and imprisoned in the winter-months, and that in summer he is restored to liberty and motion."*

Immediately after mentioning this solemnity, Plutarch subjoins an account of another, of an opposite description, which, if we judge from the text of this author as it now stands, would be supposed to have followed immediately the foregoing rites, or rather to have occurred during the midst of them. He says, "on the nineteenth of the month, they march by night in procession towards the sea-shore, and the Stolistæ and Priests bear the sacred chest, containing a little ark of gold, into which they pour fresh water, and at the same time raise a shout that, "Osiris is found!" They afterwards mix fertile earth with the water, and, adding

> "I am the Osiris of Egypt, called Phanaces by the Mysians, Bacchus among the living, and Aïdoneus or Pluto among the dead; offspring of fire, two-horned, the Titan-killer Dionusus."

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 171.

† The ancient Persians held their festivals nearly at the same periods. See the Commentary, Note B.

spices and costly perfumes, form a little image of a lunated figure, which they dress up and adorn."*

Many authors allude to this festival, which was celebrated with much clamorous rejoicing. Juvenal refers to it thus:

> "Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri
> Invento."

On which the Scholiast observes, that the crowd exclaimed, when the god was declared to be found, εὑρηκάμεν, συγχαιρόμεν. "We have found him, rejoice."

Notwithstanding the expressions of Plutarch, it can scarcely be supposed that this ceremony was performed in the month Athyr. Its proper period cannot be ascertained precisely; but there are many circumstances which indicate that it was celebrated some time after the winter-solstice;† for about the time of the solstice another ceremony was performed, which was termed the Zetesis, or Search after Osiris, and it would seem that the Discovery must have been subsequent to this. Besides, if we advert to the legend with which these festivals were connected, we find that the discovery of the remains of Osiris must have happened subsequently to the return of Isis to Egypt; and we are assured that her arrival from Phœnicia was solemnized on the seventh day of the month Tybi, which answers to the second of January.‡

The search, as we have remarked, was celebrated at the solstice. "At this time," says Plutarch, "the

* Plutarch, ibid. cap. 29.

† See further remarks on this subject in the Commentary on this Chapter, Note C.

‡ Plut. de Isid. cap. 50.

Egyptians lead the sacred Cow," the living image of Isis, round the temple seven times; this season of the year standing most in need of the sun's warmth. He adds, that the rite was performed seven times, to indicate that the god does not complete his return to the summer-tropic until the seventh month afterwards.*

The response of an oracle of Apollo, quoted by Eusebius, probably alludes to the last mentioned ceremony, or to that which was solemnized in the month Athyr.†

Ισιδι δ' αὖ φαρίη γονίμοις παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου
μαστεύειν σείστοισιν ἐὸν ποσιν ἄθρὸν Οσίριν.

" To Isis it is given, beside the flood
Of genial Nile, in garb of woe to roam,
And, by the deep-toned sistrum's mournful clang,
To seek her dear Osiris."

" At the new moon of the month Phamenoth, (which nearly corresponds to March,) the Egyptians hold," says Plutarch, " a festival which they term the entrance of Osiris into the Moon, and which marks the beginning of spring." " Thus," he continues, " they place the power of Osiris in the Moon, and represent Isis, which means the prolific qualities of nature, as impregnated by him. Accordingly, they term the Moon the mother of the world, and represent her as both male and female, as receiving emanations from the Sun, becoming fertilized, and then diffusing her genial influences through the air."

* Plut. de Isid. cap. 52.

† Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. v. cap. 7.

"At the time of sowing the seed," says Plutarch, "the burial of Osiris was solemnized, and this ceremony was thought to denote the covering of the seed in the earth; and the resurrection or re-appearance of Osiris, the shooting up of the green herb. In allusion to this allegory, Isis, upon perceiving herself to be pregnant, is said to have hung an amulet about her neck in the month Phaophi, soon after the sowing time, and to have brought forth the infant Harpocrates, about the time of the solstice, when the herbage is just springing and shooting forth. Hence also the first-fruits of the Egyptian lentils were said to be dedicated to this god, and the λοχεῖα, or purification of Isis, was celebrated after the vernal equinox.*

We shall mention only one other Egyptian festival, which is that of the Paamylia. It consisted in a Bacchanalian pomp, resembling the Phallephoria, or Priapeïa of the Greeks, in which the mystic emblems of Osiris were borne in procession.† This ceremony was instituted by Isis, according to the mythologue, after she had discovered the remains of her husband, which had been scattered about by Typhon. It is, therefore, probable, that it was celebrated in the spring, which, as we have seen, was the season of joyful festivals among the Egyptians. The meaning of these strange exhibitions, as explained by all the ancient writers, was to represent in striking emblems the fertilizing influences of the elements, by which nature was supposed to be fecundated in the genial season of the spring.

* Plut. de Isid. cap. 65.

† Plut. ibid. cap. 12. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 48.

On the whole, we may, I believe, be permitted to conclude, that the festivals celebrated in honour of Isis and Osiris were connected with the changes of the year, and the most striking phænomena of nature in the different seasons. Moreover, as these solemnities in their succession, and in the nature and meaning of the rites in which they consisted, bore an evident reference to the legend of which we have given an abstract in some former pages, it appears that we are to regard that fiction in the light of a physical allegory, representing, in figurative and highly fanciful allusions, the annual progress of the sun and the order of the seasons. At the same time it must be supposed, that this outline has been filled up by many chimerical circumstances, in order to render it more popular.

We must here, for a reason that will afterwards appear, distinguish the history and rites of Osiris from a variety of emblems and figurative representations which referred merely to the Sun. It was not simply towards the orb of the sun that the Egyptians addressed their superstitious devotions; but to the generative or productive power of Nature, which at certain seasons is displayed in a peculiar manner in the influence of the Sun. For at some periods, Osiris held his abode in the Moon; at others he had become effete, and had passed into Hades, and his absence from the upper world was deplored. The Sun was yet visible; but the productive powers which he had displayed in the vernal season had now abandoned him.

That Osiris was not merely a name for the Sun, and that the superstitions addressed to him are different from the common solar worship, is indeed evident from the distinction made by Herodotus and all the other

Greek writers who treat of Egyptian manners. It is certain that the Egyptians had a system of rites in adoration of the Sun, altogether distinct from the ceremonies of Osiris. The former belonged particularly to the Heliopolitan nome, while we are assured that the latter were common to the whole Egyptian people.

SECTION III.

Continuation of the same subject. General Conclusion respecting the nature of Osiris. Typhon, Horus, Egyptian Triad, Harpocrates, Serapis.

It was not the light and heat alone of the solar rays that were considered by the Egyptians as the attributes of Osiris. He was worshipped, if we may believe Plutarch, in every department of prolific nature; and all those elements or visible objects in which any productive energy was fancied to reside, were believed to be only various modes or manifestations of this god.

Next to the influence of the Sun, there is no element which appears in so striking a manner to be a physical cause of the production and growth of organized beings, particularly of those which belong to the vegetable kingdom, as moisture. In Egypt especially, the waters of the Nile so rapidly fertilize the arid and otherwise sterile soil, and give rise in so remarkable a way to an exuberant increase in animal and vegetable nature, that it would be singular if the ideas, suggested by these phænomena, had not left their impression on the mythology of the

people. In fact, the Nile was regarded by the Egyptians with peculiar veneration. Plutarch says, "they held the Nile to be the parent and saviour of Egypt, and an emanation from Osiris;"* and there are so many passages in the ancient writers which identify Osiris and the Nile, that two of the most learned writers of modern times, Joseph Scaliger,† and Selden,‡ were persuaded that they were the same, or that Osiris was, in the original and proper sense, a personification of the sacred river. Eusebius indeed asserts expressly, that "Osiris was the Nile, which the Egyptians supposed to flow down from heaven;" and we find the same testimony in the following invocation of Propertius:§

"Nile Pater, quanam possum te dicere causa,
Aut quibus in terris occuluisse caput:
Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi;
Te canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirim,
Barbara Memphitem plangere docta bovem."

Many other passages to the same purpose might be quoted from the ancient writers. Several of these have been adduced by the authors above mentioned, as well as by Jablonski, who nevertheless maintains a contrary opinion. ‖

* Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.

† Scalig. de Emendatione Temporum, p. 370.

‡ Selden de Diis Syriis, Syntagm. lib. i. cap. 4.

§ Propert. lib. i. eleg. 8.

‖ Jablonski insists on interpreting Osiris as the solar orb merely, and endeavours to explains away all the testimonies which are in opposition to this more limited sense.

Plutarch informs us, that many of the Egyptian philosophers regarded Osiris as a river-god, in his true and original meaning, and supposed that the lamentation made on account of his feigned death, or disappearance, referred to the decrease of the water of the Nile. He adds, that when the Nile was regarded as Osiris, or the active cause, Isis, or the passive cause, was referred to the land of Egypt, which is fertilized or rendered prolific by the inundation;* so strictly did the interpreters adhere to the principles of the physical allegory of which we have surveyed a part. But the more profound and learned of the Egyptians generalized their ideas, and represented Osiris as a type of the element of moisture, or of water universally, which they regarded as the great genial principle of all nature, calling forth and cherishing the fruits of the earth.† On this notion was founded the custom of bearing a vessel full of water as a type or symbol, in all the processions that was celebrated in honour of this god. This dogma was one of the principles of that physiology or doctrine respecting nature, which Thales, the founder of the Ionic school, is said to have learned in Egypt; and it appears to have been borrowed from thence by some Grecian mystics or philosophers before the age of Thales. Such, at least, is the sense attributed by Plutarch to a well-known verse of Homer:

Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθὺν.‡

* Plutarch de Is. cap. 36. † Plutarch, ibid.

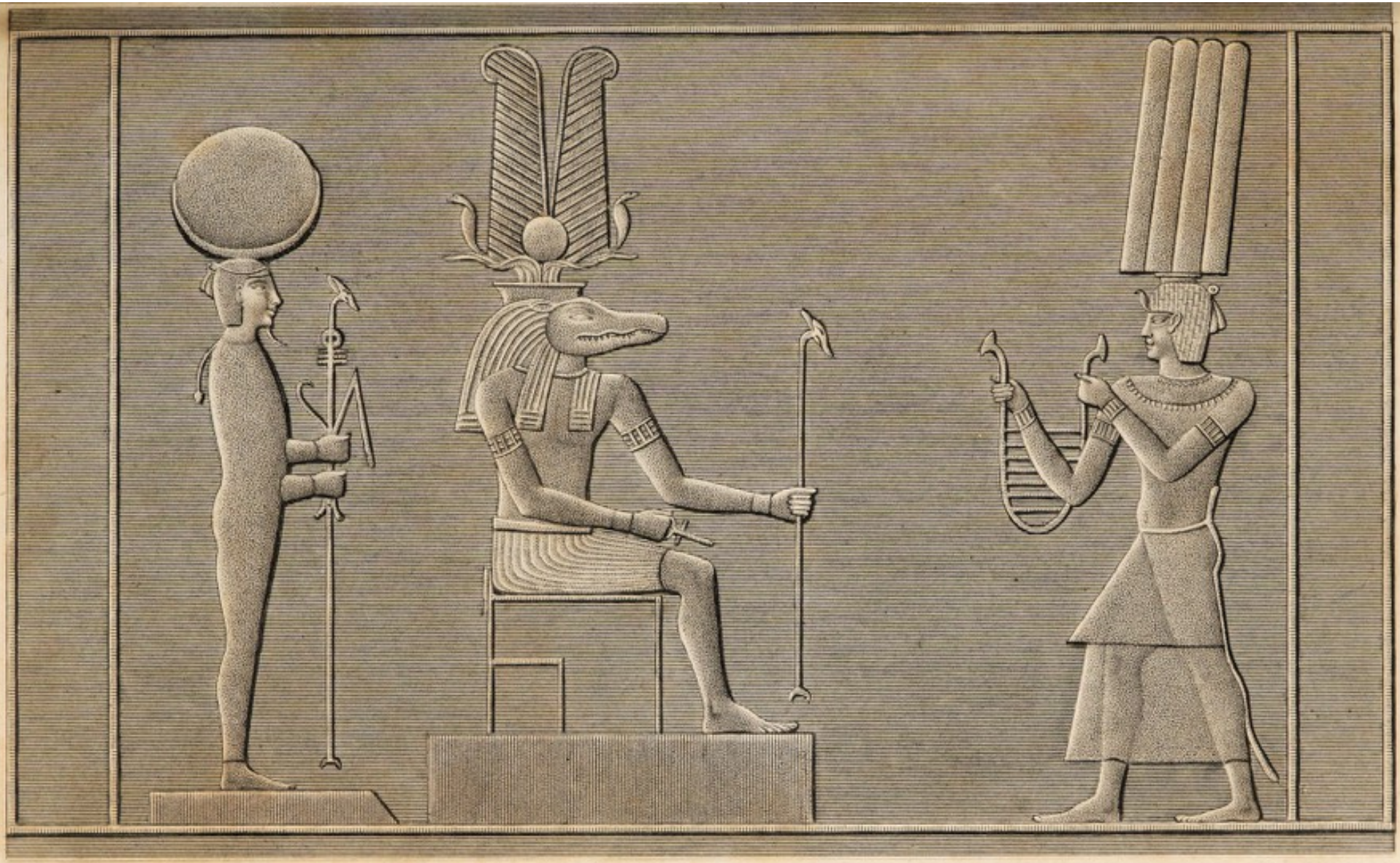
‡ Aristotle says, "that was a very ancient doctrine among the Greeks, that all things were produced from Oceanus and Tethys, and that the well-known custom of swearing by the Styx had its origin in this fable.—Aristot. Met. lib. i. cap. 3.

Tethys is the Earth in general, which is here mentioned in relation with water, the fertilizing principle.

From the comparison of these explanations, and others of a similar kind, all of which appear to have had a solid foundation in the rites and doctrines of the Egyptians, we learn that Osiris was not simply the Sun or the Nile, but every part of nature in which productive qualities are displayed. Osiris clearly seems to have represented the active energy of nature, the beneficent or generative influence of the elements, wherever exhibited; Isis, the passive cause, or the prolific powers of nature, in the sublunary world. Hence Osiris was sometimes worshipped in the Sun, whose rays vivify and gladden the earth, and at whose return, in the vernal season, all its organized productions receive a new generation; and sometimes in the Nile, whose waters bestow riches on the land of Egypt. Isis, as we have shown from the repeated assertions of the ancient writers, was the Earth or sublunary Nature in general; or, in a more confined sense, the soil of Egypt which is overflowed by the Nile; or the prolific or genial principle, the goddess of generation and all production. Considered jointly, Osiris and Isis are the universal being, the soul of nature, corresponding with the Pantheus or Masculo-feminine Jupiter of the Orphic verses.

OF TYPHON.

It is not easy to perceive how the dogma of two independent principles can be reconciled with the genius of the Pantheistic system. Yet we discover



The Idol of Ombos.

something very like it in the mythology of Egypt.* Typhon stands opposed to Osiris, just as Ahriman does to Ormuzd, in the religion of Zoroaster. The chief difference between these two schemes seems to consist in this circumstance, that the Egyptian fable is more entirely founded on physical principles. In the Persian doctrine, Ahriman was not simply a personification of natural evil; his attributes comprehend also moral evil; but as we have seen that Osiris was physical good, or the productive or generative power, so Typhon seems to have represented all the destructive causes in nature. "Whatever," says Plutarch, "is turbulent, or noxious, or disorderly in irregular seasons, or a distempered condition of the air, or in eclipses of the Sun and Moon, are incursions and representations of Typhon."†

Typhon and Nephthys stand opposed, in every instance, to Osiris and Isis. As all fertile regions and prolific causes belong to the latter, so all sterile and unproductive elements are the peculiar reign of the former.‡ When Osiris is the fertilizing Nile, Typhon is the barren sea, the "πόντος ἀτρύγετος," which swallows it up; and hence the sea, and even the salt which is produced from it, were held in abomination by the Egyptians. When Osiris is water, or humidity in general, Typhon is heat and drought. As the land of Egypt, which is fertilized by the waters of the Nile, was the reign of Isis, so the desert, which lies beyond the genial influence of the river-god, was the unfruitful Nephthys.§ When these barren tracts were overflowed and rendered fertile by an unusual

* See Plut. de Isid. sect. 45, 49. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. sect. 40. § Ibid. sect. 38.

extent of the inundation, then Osiris was said to leave his garland of melilotus in the bed of Nephthys; and this phænomenon was recorded in the physical allegory of the Egyptians. When Osiris was recognized in the Northern or Etesian winds, so salubrious in Upper Egypt, Typhon was the *Tyfoon*, or southern blast, which blows from the desert, and burns up and destroys every thing that has life.* Lastly, when Osiris was the light and fire of the Sun, Typhon was the darkness of winter, which is predominant from the month of Athyr, when Osiris was overcome by his adversary, until the following spring, when he again returned to Isis, and diffused, in the month of Phamenoth, his genial influences over the sublunary world. "In short," says Plutarch, "every thing that is of an evil or malignant nature, either in the animal, the vegetable, or the intellectual world, is looked upon in general as the operation of Typhon, as part of him, or as the effect of his influence."†

Hence all those animals which are of hideous aspect, or of fierce and untamable disposition, were sacred to Typhon, and were regarded as living representations of him.‡ Among these, the Crocodile and the Hippopotamus are mentioned by several writers§ as the most remarkable. The Typhonian animals were symbols of darkness and destruction. The Hippopotamus was an emblem of the western pole, the Ζοφος, or dark region,

* Plut. de Isid. sect. 40, 41, 43. † Ibid. sect. 50.

‡ The peculiar relation which the sacred animals were imagined to bear to the gods, will be a subject of investigation in a later part of this work.

§ Plut. ibid.—Aelian.—Strabo, cited below.

which swallows up the Sun and the other celestial bodies. He was seen figured in this view in the temple of Apollinopolis, standing with open jaws, and gaping upwards to ingulph the descending lights of heaven.*

The Crocodile was also associated with the same ideas. "A crocodile crouching," says Horapollo, "was a symbol of the West; and the tail of a Crocodile was the hieroglyphic character which expressed darkness in the sacred sculpture of the Egyptians."†

The Crocodile was the favourite object of worship among the inhabitants of the Ombite nome; and in the remaining sculptures of the temple of Ombos, the highest honours are appropriated to a figure with the head of a Crocodile.‡ We might hence suppose that the Ombites worshipped Typhon as their peculiar divinity; but it is difficult to account for the insignia with which the Typhonian figure in their temple is adorned; and which are elsewhere associated with and appear to be the distinguishing badges of Osiris.

OF HORUS, OR AROUERIS.

The elder Horus, or Aroueris, was the brother of Osiris;§ but Horus is generally considered as the son of Isis and Osiris, and the relation of the former to the latter Horus is unknown to us. Horus, however, was

* Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 12.

† Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. i. cap. 69, 70.

‡ See the splendid work of the French Institute, Description de l'Egypte, tom. i. pl. 48.

§ Plutarch. cap. 12.

the third, or the younger of the three divinities which compose the pantheistic triad of the Egyptians.

The Greeks generally regarded Horus as identical with their Apollo.* Sometimes they consider him as Priapus.† His attributes are not clearly distinguished from those of Osiris. It would, however, appear, from the incidents mentioned in the legend of which we have given an abstract, as well as from the physical interpretation derived from the ancient writers, that as Osiris and Typhon were the generating and the destroying powers, so Horus was the renovator and preserver of nature, who overcomes for a time, though he cannot exterminate, Typhon, and restores the dominion of Osiris.

From the circumstance that the Greeks regarded Horus as Apollo, it appears that the Egyptian god bore some near relation to the Sun. According to Plutarch, the books of Hermes ascribed to him the office of presiding over that luminary, and guiding its movements.‡ Light was one of his attributes; and obelisks, being emblems, as we are informed, of the solar rays, were dedicated to him. In the inscription on the Heliopolitan obelisk, of which an interpretation was furnished by Hermapion,§ Horus is termed the supreme lord and author of time, with an evident reference to his office as god of the solar orb and revolution; and in a statue described by Montfaucon, which appears, from other characteristics, to represent this deity, the Sun is seen sculptured over the head of the god. ‖

* Herod. lib. ii. passim. † Suidas. voce Πριαπος.

‡ Plutarch, cap. 61. § Ammianus Marcellinus.

‖ Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, tom. ii. part 2, pl. 119, fig. 3.

Plutarch supposes that Horus included the whole visible world;* and this idea had probably some foundation, as it is consistent with the genius of the pantheistic mythology,† to refer all parts of the universe to Horus as well as to Osiris. In conformity with this notion, the festival held on the thirtieth day of the month Epiphi, at which time the Sun and the Moon were supposed to be in the same right line with the earth, was termed the "Genethlia," or the festal day of Horus's eyes; and these two luminaries were enigmatically termed the Eyes of Horus.‡

The emblems of generation, or production in general, belong to Horus not less remarkably than to Osiris. This is shown distinctly by his statues, the form and insignia of which are described by Suidas, in a passage to which I would rather refer the reader than translate it.§ The same circumstance is evident in the remains of Egyptian sculpture. The form of Horus may be recognized in most of the temples of the Thebaid, with the characteristics of Priapus. ‖

Aelian likewise terms Horus the chief cause of the production of fruits and the luxuriance of the seasons;¶

* Plutarch. cap. 52.

† We shall make some observations illustrative of this remark in a following Book.

‡ Plutarch. cap. 52. § Suidas, loc. citat.

‖ Horus may be distinguished from Osiris by his *coëffure*. The mystic Van also is figured above and behind him; not in his hand, as it is in that of Osiris: in other respects his form resembles Priapus. Certain plants are sometimes growing by his side on an altar. See Description de l'Egypt, tom. iii. pl. 52, et alibi.

¶ Aelian de Animal. lib. ii. cap. 10.

and Plutarch says, he was supposed to represent that quality in the air which nourishes and preserves all living beings.*

The mystic Van of Iacchus belonged to Horus as well as to Osiris; and hence the Greeks considered Horus as Bacchus, though this name more properly belonged to the elder god. Hence it is that we find Bacchus termed the offspring of Jove and Proserpine, that, is of Serapis and Isis. He is so invoked by Orpheus.†

Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείας
ἀρρήτοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεὶς, ἄμβροτε Δαῖμον.

"Immortal dæmon, born in the mystic bed of Jove and Proserpine."

From all these circumstances, I think it appears that Horus is only distinguished from Osiris as the successor and renovator of his career, the restorer of his reign. Osiris is the generator, Horus the renovator or preserver.

OF THE EGYPTIAN TRIAD.

We thus find that the Egyptian triad contains a triple personification of the generative, the destructive, and the restoring powers of nature.

To each of the three gods a female divinity corresponded. The latter were Isis, Nepthys, and Boubastis. They appear to have been counterparts or passive representatives of the nature and attributes of the three gods. But we shall have occasion, in a

* ἡ σωζουσα. Plutarch. c. 61. † Orphica Gesneri, p. 222.

subsequent chapter to consider more fully the history and characters of the Egyptian goddesses.

OF HARPOCRATES.

Herodotus has repeatedly mentioned Isis, Osiris, and Typhon, as well as Horus, the son of the two former deities. Yet we no where find in his works the slightest notice of Harpocrates, who is also called the offspring of Isis and Osiris. Among later authors, Harpocrates is perhaps still more celebrated than Horus.

The silence of Herodotus, in this particular, creates a suspicion that he regarded Harpocrates as the same divinity as Horus.

Egyptian sculptures often represent the infant child of Isis in the arms of his mother, or suckled at her breast. In many instances, the god holds his finger on his mouth. Those forms which are thus characterized have been supposed to belong to Harpocrates; the others have been termed figures of Horus.

This distinction was known to the ancients. The finger held upon the lips was supposed to intimate secrecy; and hence Harpocrates was considered as the god of silence and mystery. This idea occurs in a verse of Ovid, alluding to Harpocrates:

"Quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet."*

The same god is termed, by Ausonius, Sigalion, or the imposer of silence.

* Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. v. 691.

"Tu velut Oebaliis habites taciturnus Amyclis,
Aut tua Sigalion Ægyptius oscula signet
Obnixum Pauline taces."*

"You, Paulinus, remain obstinately silent, like a mute inhabitant of the Spartan Amyclæ, or as if the Egyptian Sigalion sealed your lips."

The finger held upon the mouth may, however, have been intended to convey merely the idea of infancy, or tender age, as typified by the form of a child too young to articulate; at least all that we can learn concerning Harpocrates seems to refer simply to this indication. Plutarch, to whom we owe chiefly the information we possess concerning this god, says, he was represented as a weak and imperfect infant, deficient in his members.†

Jablonski has been more fortunate in analyzing the name of this god than in most of his etymological conjectures; and the sense he derives from the Coptic etymon agrees exactly with the character assigned by Plutarch. It appears from Eratosthenes, the first writer who has mentioned Harpocrates, that he was called, in the Egyptian language, Phoucrates, which only differs in the Greek termination from the compound word *Phōch-rat*, expressing in the Coptic "*Claudicans pede.*" Jablonski supposes that Harpocrates is compounded of the same words with the prefix AR, denoting the energe tc cause.‡ It seems

* Auson. Epist. 25. v. 26.

† Plutarch calls him ἀτελῆ καὶ νήπιον, and again, ἀνάπηρον.

‡ Eratosthenes interprets Semphoucrates, by Hercules Harpocrates. Sem is the name of Hercules, and Phoucrates evidently expresses Harpocrates. In a Greek epigram, cited by

to me much more probable that Harpocrates is in reality OR-PHOUCRATES, the infant or as yet imperfect Horus.

Cuper, whose learned work contains all that can be collected from the ancient writers with reference to this god, as well as some interesting details on several other parts of the Egyptian mythology, conjectures that Harpocrates was a type of the rising Sun.* Jablonski contends that he denoted not the Sun rising in the East in his diurnal career, but the annual rise of that luminary, immediately after he has passed the winter-solstice, when his beams are as yet weak, and the day has but a short duration. This conjecture displays more ingenuity, and rests on a better foundation, than that of Cuper. From the time of his birth, which was at the winter-solstice, it is evident that Harpocrates denoted some circumstance in the state of the seasons at that period; and that he had some relation to the Sun, or the solar influence, would appear from his near connection or from his probable identity with Horus.

Yet it by no means agrees with the remarks left by the old writers concerning Harpocrates, to confine his attributes and ideal existence within such narrow limits. We have shown that neither Osiris nor Horus denoted merely the solar orb, and that Isis was not simply the Moon. In like manner we shall find that Harpocrates was not merely the globe of

Jablonski, he is called Amphicrates. Amphicrates, or Amphoucrates, would be the most natural way of writing, in Greek letters, MPHOCH-RAT; which, in the Coptic orthography, is equivalent to PHOCH-RAT.

* Cuper's Harpocrates, Traject. ad Rhen. 1637.

the Sun: he seems to have been a type of those genial influences which were supposed to reside in various departments of nature, but more especially in the solar beams, soon after the solstice of winter, and to give rise to the first appearances of returning spring.

Thus we are assured by Plutarch, that by this infant god the Egyptians represented the first shooting up or budding forth of esculent plants.*

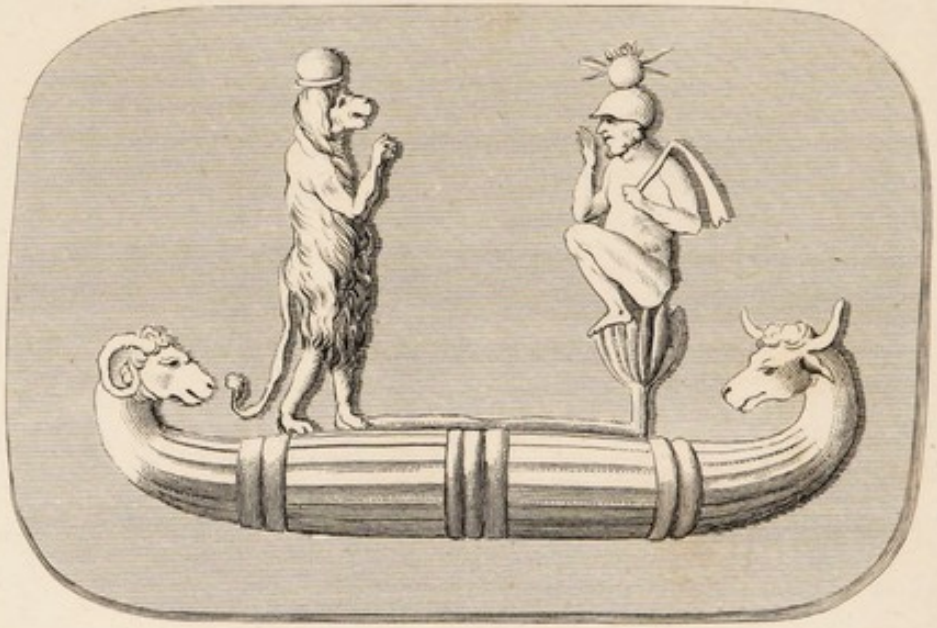
The objects dedicated to Harpocrates tend to confirm this notion. He had no sacred animals, as the other gods; but the Egyptians consecrated to him, in the month Mesori, the first-fruits of their leguminous plants.† The bud, or opening blossom of the peach-tree, was also in a peculiar manner sacred to Harpocrates.‡ But there is nothing more common in the Egyptian sculpture than the figure of Harpocrates sitting on the flower of the Lotus, or rather of the Nymphæa Nelumbo, which expands itself on the surface of the water.

By all these figures, if we may venture to generalise them, it would appear that Harpocrates represented that power in nature, which fosters the opening of buds and the springing up of tender plants. As this was an influence supposed to be derived from the Sun, fertilizing the Earth, we may account for the genealogy of Harpocrates, who was called the offspring of Osiris and Isis, or rather of Serapis and Isis.

* Plutarch de Isid. cap. 68. † Ibid. cap. 65, 68.

‡ Ibid. cap. 68.





Harpocrates.

Weddell fecit.

To conclude, it would appear that Harpocrates was but faintly distinguished from Horus, of whom he seems to have been a particular form.

OF SARAPIS, OR SERAPIS.

We now come to a subject which presents greater difficulties than most other parts of the Egyptian theogony, viz. to the nature and relations of Serapis. Sarapis is declared by several authors to be the same as Osiris; yet there is evidently some distinction between them. What this distinction is we are not able satisfactorily to determine.

In the first place, we are assured by Plutarch, who indeed repeats the assertion, that Sarapis was Osiris himself.* Diodorus makes expressly the same declaration;† and in a hymn of Martianus Capella, we find both these names assigned to one god.‡

> Te Serapim Nilus, Memphis veneratur Osirim.
>
> "The Nile invokes thee as Serapis; Memphis worships thee as Osiris."

The same inference may be drawn from the connection of the name of Sarapis with that of Isis. He is frequently mentioned by ancient authors as the consort of this goddess, which shows that they regarded Sarapis as another title of Osiris. Diogenes Laertius, Clement of Alexandria,§ and Macrobius,‖ to whom we

* Plutarch, de sid. cap. 28. † Diodor. lib. i. cap. 2.
‡ Martian. Capella. Hymn. ad Solem.
§ Clemens. Strom. v. p. 45. ‖ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i.

might add many other authors, speak of Isis and Sarapis as the great divinities of the Alexandrians, or of the Egyptians in general.

Yet the same authors make some distinction between Osiris and Sarapis. Thus Plutarch asserts that Sarapis was Osiris, after he had changed his nature, or after he had passed into the subterranean world; and it is apparently in conformity with this idea, that Diodorus calls him the Egyptian Pluto.* Certain it is that Sarapis was regarded by the Greeks as holding the office of Pluto. They were informed, as it seems, by the Egyptians, that he was the god who presided over the region of the dead; and Porphyry assigns conjointly to him and to Hecate, a particular form of Isis, the supreme rule over maleficent dæmons of all descriptions.†

Jablonski, as we have seen, imagined Osiris to denote simply the orb of the sun, and this supposition afforded him an easy explanation of the nature and distinction of Sarapis. The latter, according to this author, represented the sun in the wintry months, after he had passed the autumnal equinox, and had reached the latter days of his career, or the solar Osiris, after he had entered upon the period of his decrepitude in the month of Athyr. Osiris then descended to the shades; it was at this era that he became Sarapis; the lower half of the zodiac was sometimes regarded as the infernal region by Egyptians, as well as by other nations. All these circumstances concur in throwing an air of probability over the conjecture of Jablonski. It will perhaps appear to most of his readers that this author

* Cuper. Harpocrates p. 85.

† Porphyr. apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. iv. cap. ult.

is not entirely mistaken in his idea respecting the nature of Sarapis. It is indeed supported by a passage of Porphyry, which has been cited by Eusebius.* Yet as Osiris was not simply the sun, during the season when that luminary fertilizes the sublunary world, and diffuses his rays over the bosom of Isis, but included in his attributes other productive powers; so it must be allowed that the same god, after his descent and metamorphosis, was referred, not merely to the Sun in his era of decrepitude, but represented also the decline or period of suspended vigour in all the genial elements of nature.

The solar Osiris, after he was overcome by Typhon, the power of darkness, and shorn of his beams, became Sarapis; and the Nilotic Osiris is probably related in a similar manner to the Nilotic Sarapis; that Sarapis was represented by the wintry Nile, now diminished, and reduced to his narrow bed, we cannot positively affirm, though we are assured that the sacred stream was worshipped under the title of Sarapis.† The evidence of Suidas, a diligent investigator of antiquity, is sufficient to establish this point. This author informs us that Sarapis was supposed to be Jupiter, or the Nile, because his statue bore upon its head a vessel of measure, and a cubit or instrument for fathoming the water.‡

* Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 11. necnon Cuperi Harpocrates, p. 105.

† Jablonski has very candidly stated the authorities in proof of this position, though they are very hostile to his hypothesis. He is driven to the awkward expedient of conjecturing that the Egyptians had two divinities of the same title.

‡ Suidas in voce Sarapis.

Jablonski has proved, by the authorities of Socrates and Sozomen, that the Nilometer was supposed to be under the particular care of Sarapis, and that the instrument, by which the water was fathomed, was always conveyed with solemnity to the temple of Sarapis, until the Emperor Constantine, on the establishment of Christianity, forbade this custom.*

When we compare all these circumstances, and consider that Sarapis was not only the solar god, after he had ceased to be the genial principle of nature, but that the Nile likewise belonged to him; that he also presided over Amenthes, or the region of departed souls, during the period of their absence when languishing without bodies, the instruments of activity; that the dead were deposited in his palace,—we are disposed to draw a general inference respecting the character of this god, as we have before done with regard to Osiris. Sarapis seems to represent the productive and indestructible life of nature during that period of decline which, in the perpetual vicissitudes inherent in all things, disarms it for a while of its energy, and holds it in an effete and concealed state, until the fated lapse of time shall again call it forth into activity. We may thus understand how Sarapis rules the Sun, when no longer possessed of genial heat and vivid summer-light; and the Nile, during the season of its eclipse, and the souls of men, themselves originally sparks or emanations from Osiris, as long as they remain in the region of inactivity; whence, however, as we shall show in the sequel, they were

* Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib iv. cap. 3.—Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 18.—Sozomen. lib. v. cap. 3.

supposed at a certain period to emerge, in order again to enter on a scene of active life.

Osiris and Horus were gods or genii of the whole universe. The same pantheistic description is given of Sarapis, in a celebrated response made by the oracle of this god, to Nicocreon, a Cyprian king, who sent messengers to inquire what divinity he ought to adore under that name. We shall cite this passage chiefly to prove that the sense and attributes assigned by Jablonski to Sarapis, are by far too limited. The god spoke to the following effect.*

εἰμὶ θεὸς τοῖός δε μαθεῖν οἷον κ' εγὼ εἴπω·
οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλὴ, γαστὴρ δέ θάλασσα,
γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἶσι, τα δ' οὔατ' ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται·
ὀμμά τε τηλαυγὲς λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

"My divinity shall be described in the words I will now utter. The canopy of heaven is my head; the sea is my belly; the earth is my feet; my ears are in the etherial region; and mine eye is the resplendent and far-shining lamp of the sun."

Sarapis was not only the Pluto of the Egyptians: he corresponds also to the Grecian Æsculapius. Indeed there seems to be little reason to doubt that the rites of Æsculapius were borrowed by the Greeks from the worship of the Egyptian Sarapis. The Egyptians carried sick persons into his temple, and similar juggling tricks seem to have been performed by his priests, to those of which Aristophanes has given

* Macrob. Saturn. lib. i.

us a humorous description, in his account of the blind man, who passed a night in the fane of Æsculapius.* The same animals, viz. the serpent and the cock, were appropriated to Sarapis, which are so well known in the Grecian fables as symbolical emblems, or consecrated victims of the god of health. We shall find occasion to add some further remarks on this subject, when we proceed to assemble the principal facts that relate to the worship of animals.

It is not difficult to understand why Sarapis came to be the god of the healing art. We have seen from the testimony of Porphyry and Eusebius, that he was supposed to preside over the invisible world, and to be the ruler of dæmons, or maleficent spirits. We know that the Egyptians attributed all diseases to the agency of dæmons, and that their attempts to obtain cures were founded, in great part, on magical incantations, and the various means by which it was supposed that the invisible beings might be coerced, or propitiated. It was natural that they should apply chiefly to the god who held, under his controul, the agents of evil, or the promoters of all those plagues which infest the human body. This, indeed, is precisely the point of view in which Porphyry regards the relations and offices of the Egyptian Pluto, in his double capacity of healer of the infirm, and ruler of the dead.

* Ælian. Animal. lib. ii. Tacitus. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 81. Aristophanes in Pluto. See below, Book iv. chap. i. sect. 4.

COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER II.

NOTE A. to Sect. I.

It has been remarked by Jablonski, that the birth of the five deities, on the five intercalary days, was a story invented for some astronomical purpose, and belonged rather to the calendar than to the theology of the Egyptians.* Shuckford † and others, who regarded this fable in a different light, have argued from it, that the worship of Isis and Osiris was established in Egypt, at the period when the calendar, originally consisting of three hundred and sixty days, was corrected by the intercalation of five, a change which was effected, according to Syncellus, during the reign of Asseth, one of the dynasty of shepherd-kings. I can here find no connection between the premises and the conclusion. At the time when the astronomers of Egypt made the addition of five days to the duration of their old year, it was certainly more natural for them to dedicate those days to deities already admitted into the popular worship, than to introduce new divinities into the Egyptian theocracy, on purpose to adorn the calendar. It would be more reasonable to infer the high antiquity than the recent origin of the worship of Osiris from this story; on which, however, no reliance can be placed, because we have sufficient ground for doubting the assertion of Syncellus, who has given us no hint on what authority he has founded it.

* Jablonski Pantheon Ægypt. lib. ii. cap. 1, p. 143.

† Shuckford's Connections of Sacred and Profane History, vol. 1.

NOTE B. TO SECT. I.

The ancient writers assign various interpretations to the name of Osiris, a circumstance which proves that the names of the Egyptian gods were derived from a dialect already obsolete at the time when those authors wrote. Jablonski has, however, thought it incumbent upon him to trace all these interpretations in the modern Coptic. The following are the etymologies he assigns to this name.

1. OSH-IRI—*Much-operating*. This answers to a sense assigned by Plutarch. "κράτος ἐνεργοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸν."—"*Power energetic and beneficent.*"

2. OSH-I-RE—"*The far-journeying king*, or, *The far-journeying sun.*" This is given by Jablonski as a conjecture purely his own.

3. HOOU-SHER—"*Rain-scattering.*" This etymology is supported by a conjectural emendation of Plutarch, who, on the authority of Hermæus, has given ὄμβριμος, as the meaning of Osiris. Jablonski thinks we ought to read ὄμβριος, *plurialis, rainy*, and this sense he represents by the compound Coptic word HOOU-SHER. Considering the peculiarity of the Egyptian climate, we must allow that a more improbable conjecture could scarcely have been formed.

4. O-OUJE-RE—"*Author of safety.*" This is offered as corresponding with the interpretation of Iamblichus, who construes Osiris, "ἀγαθῶν ποιητικὸς :" "*Productive of good.*"

5. O-OUOEISH-IRI, or, OEISH-IRI—"*The Cause or Author of Time.*" This is the interpretation which Jablonski deliberately prefers, and on which he chiefly founds his hypothesis respecting the original character of Osiris. Yet it is a sense which is not expressly assigned by any ancient writer to the name of this god. It is indeed mentioned by Hermapion, as cited by Ammianus, to be the attribute of Horus; but this circumstance is by no means favourable to the scheme of Jablonski.

After all, it seems that this author has failed to discover any Coptic etymon corresponding with the only sense which Plutarch and Diodorus agree in assigning to the name of Osiris, viz. "*The many-eyed god.*" This deficiency has been supplied by the learned French antiquarian, who has bestowed so much labour on the Rosetta inscription. But M. Silvestre de Sacy finds it necessary, in the first place, to change OSIRIS into OSINIS. This last word he derives from OSH, much, and NAU, to see. So much for the theories founded on etymology. —See Jablonski Pantheon Ægypt. lib. i. p. 150. et seq. item Opuscul. tom. i, p. 188. M. Silvestre de Sacy, Lett. sur l'Inscription de Rosette.

NOTE B. TO SECT. II.

It must, however, be observed, that Eudoxus is censured by the astronomer Geminus of Rhodes, for having supposed that the festival of Isis corresponded constantly with one period of the year; whereas, according to Geminus, being connected with the vague year of the Egyptians, it must have traversed successively the whole circle of the seasons. But the authority of Geminus does not deserve to be set in opposition to that of Eudoxus, who is said (Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 554,) to have resided thirteen years in Egypt in the society of the philosophers of that country, and is well known to have applied himself diligently to the investigation of their astronomy. He could not, therefore, be ignorant of the principles on which their calendar was constructed. Various attempts have been made by the learned to reconcile the statements of these two astronomers. Jablonski (Nova Interp. Tab. Isiac.) supposes that there were two festivals of Isis, one of which only was fixed at the solstice, and that Geminus was unacquainted with this circumstance, and referred exclusively to one of them. It is, however, very probable, that the customs of the Egyptians with respect to their calendar had undergone innovations before the time of Geminus, and, on account of his higher

antiquity and general reputation, the authority of Eudoxus is certainly to be preferred.

The conjectures of M. de Humboldt (Récherches Americ.) that the Egyptians, like the Romans, had conceptive as well as stative festivals, appears very probable. If this be allowed, it must be supposed that the festivals to which Eudoxus, Plutarch, and others, connect physical interpretations, were conceptive; that is, that they were not fixed in the vague calendar, but announced by the priests at the return of particular seasons, and that Geminus was only acquainted with the stative festivals, which being associated with certain dates in the vague Egyptian calendar, must have traversed successively all the seasons. These, of course, could receive no physical explanation.

NOTE C. to Sect. II.

The following account of the great Persian festivals reminds us of these general reflections of Plutarch. "Their chief festivals," says Mr. Richardson, "were those about the equinoxes; the next were those of water at midsummer, and of fire at the winter-solstice. The first was the Norooz, which commenced with their year in March, and lasted six days, during which, all ranks seem to have participated in one general joy. The rich sent presents to the poor; all were dressed in their holiday-clothes, and all kept open houses; and religious processions, music, dancing, a species of theatrical exhibition, rustic sports, and other pastimes, presented a continued round of varied amusement. Even the dead and the ideal things were not forgotten; rich viands being placed on the tops of houses and high towers, on the flavour of which the Peris and spirits of their departed heroes and friends were supposed to feast."*

The Norooz or vernal festival is celebrated by the Persians, though unconnected with the religion now prevalent. It

* Richardson's Dissertation, p. 184.

commences when the Sun just enters Aries, and lasts three days.*

NOTE D. to Sect. II.

The period of the year in which the festival in celebration of the discovery of Osiris was solemnized by the Egyptians, is a point involved in great perplexity. We are not possessed of sufficient data to determine it beyond the reach of controversy; different opinions, indeed, have been maintained among the learned in modern times on this subject. On one side we find Scaliger and Selden, and on the other, Jablonski.†

It appears to me, that although the precise date of this festival cannot be determined with absolute certainty, yet there are several considerations which render it extremely probable that it took place soon after the winter-solstice.

1. It seems evident, from the context of the passage in which Plutarch mentions this ceremony, that he cannot have intended to represent it as happening on the nineteenth day of the month Athyr, and that some error must have crept into the text as it now stands. For this author had just remarked that the mourning for the Aphanism or loss of Osiris, began on the seventeenth of that month, and occupied the three succeeding days. The rejoicing for the re-appearance of the god must certainly have been subsequent to the last of these four days, which were spent by the Egyptians in grief and lamentation. It cannot be supposed that it occurred on the nineteenth, which was one of the days devoted to the sorrowful exhibitions just described. As we therefore cannot learn from this passage of Plutarch what was the time for celebrating the discovery of Osiris, we must endeavour to determine it from other considerations.

* Morier's Journey through Persia, p. 206.

† Selden de Diis Syriis. syntagm. i. cap. 4. Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. ii. p. 70. Jablonski Nova Interpretatio Tabulæ Isiacæ. Opuscula, tom. ii.

2. The festivals connected with the adventures of Isis and Osiris appear to have followed, in other respects, the order of the occurrences mentioned in the legend. By observing this order we are therefore likely to obtain some hints respecting the succession of the festivals and ceremonies. It is probable that the three festivals connected respectively with the loss of Osiris, the search after him, and the discovery, followed each other in the order in which we have mentioned them. But we are assured that the festival commemorating the Search took place about the winter-solstice; therefore the Discovery was probably subsequent to that period.

3. On the seventh of the month called Tybi, which day answers to the second of January, the Egyptians held a festival celebrating the arrival of Isis in Egypt after her voyage to Phœnice. This must have taken place either immediately before or soon after the Search. The second of January is indeed later than the solstice; but we are not sure that the Search was celebrated exactly on the solstitial term. It is indeed observed by Jablonski, that Ptolemy has marked the eleventh of Tybi, or the sixth of January, as the period of mid-winter, and that on that day the Grecian festivals in honour of Bacchus, which we know to have been derived from the rites of the Egyptians, were generally held. Hence he coje ctures, not without some reason, that the Search was commemorated in Egypt on that day. However this may have been, it is not improbable that this festival was held a few days after the solstice, though connected with it in the chronology of the year. In this case it may have happened subsequently to the arrival of Isis on the seventh Tybi.

If the Search really preceded the seventh Tybi, it must be supposed to have referred to the voyage of Isis in pursuit of the ark in which Osiris was enclosed. But if it was subsequent to that date, it referred to the expedition of Isis, when she sailed in a boat of papyrus over the fenny parts of the country, seeking and collecting the scattered remains of her husband's body. And this seems to be the meaning of the terms in which Plutarch mentions the incidents of the legend, and the rites that commemorated them.

If the former hypothesis be adopted, viz. that the solstitial festival entitled the *Search* referred to the voyage of Isis to Phœnice, still the *Discovery* must have been connected with the later events of the legend. For it could scarcely intervene between the solstice and the seventh Tybi, as it necessarily would, if referred to the former train of incidents. Besides, the Phallic institution, which, as we have seen, was connected with the finding of the scattered members of the god, seems to prove that the festival of the Discovery referred to this latter event. Therefore if we suppose, as we have reason to do from all the data that remain, that these Egyptian festivals followed the order of adventures recorded in the legend, it appears that the Euresis, or rejoicing for the discovery of the god, took place at some period subsequently to the seventh Tybi, and probably by a considerable space later in the year.

4. In all the accounts we have of this solemnity in celebration of the Discovery of Osiris, we find it connected with a procession relating to the appearance of Harpocrates; and we are told expressly by Plutarch, that the festivals connected with the birth and infancy of this god were celebrated in the interval between the winter-solstice and the vernal equinox. On one of these occasions, a little image was carried forth, representing Harpocrates, dressed up in a peculiar manner. Lactantius speaks of this ceremony as follows: "Isidi Ægyptia sacra sunt quatenus filium parvulum vel perdiderit vel invenerit. Nam primo sacerdotes ejus deglabrato corpore sua pectora tundunt, lamentantur, sicut ipsa, cum perdidit fecerat. Deinde puer introducitur, quasi inventus, et in lætitiam luctus ille mutatur."* And Claudian seems to allude to the same ceremony in the following verses:

"Sic numina Memphis
In vulgus proferre solet. Penetralibus exit
Effigies, brevis illa quidem; sed plurimus infra
Liniger imposito suspirat veste sacerdos;
Testatur sudore deum."†

* Lactant. lib. i. cap. 2.

† Claudian. de Quarto Consulat. Honorii, v. 569.

The description of these rites so nearly resembles the account which Plutarch has given us of the Discovery of Osiris, that there seems to be sufficient reason for concluding that they relate to the same festival; and if this be allowed, the period for celebrating the Discovery must have been at some time between the winter-solstice and the vernal equinox.

5. Macrobius and several other authors, above cited, expressly affirm, that all the ceremonies of a joyful description were held in the spring. This is besides implied in what is said respecting the resemblance of the Egyptian and Syrian rites. What relation, in a physical sense, could the Discovery of Osiris bear to the rejoicings for the revival of Adonis, if they were not both celebrated in the same season? We know that the latter took place at the vernal equinox; and the author who informs us of this fact, and founds upon it an explanation before cited, immediately subjoins that the Egyptian rites respecting Osiris were a counterpart in their physical allusions to the Syrian honours of Adonis.

In order to render what has been said respecting the seasons of the Egyptian festivals more intelligible, we shall add a Table of the Calendar, with the dates of the principal solemnities.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE CALENDAR.

1st of Thoth corresponded with August 29.	
1st of Phaophi ....Sept. 28	Time of sowing. Burial of Osiris. Isis is now pregnant of Harpocrates, who is born when the green herbage first springs.
1st of Athyr .....Oct. 28	
17th	Aphanism or Disappearance of Osiris. Voyage of Isis.
1st of Choiak .....Nov. 28	
1st of Tybi .....Dec. 27	
7th	Return of Isis to Egypt. Search for the remains of Osiris about the Solstice.
(Uncertain date.)	Discovery of the remains of Osiris.
1st of Mechir .....Jan. 26	
1st of Phamenoth..Feb. 25	At the New Moon Osiris enters into that planet, and fecundates the sublunary world. Beginning of Spring.
1st of Pharmuthi ..March 27	About the beginning of this month the purification of Isis was celebrated.
1st of Pachon .....April 26	
1st of Payni .....May 26	
1st of Epiphi .....June 25	
1st of Mechir .....July 25	
5 Intercalary days.	

The Egyptians avoided intercalation, and the calendar, therefore, went back through the signs at the rate of one day in every fourth year. Of course at the end of a Sothiacal period, which comprehended $4 + 365 = 1460$ years, the commencement of the first month, Thoth, was found to have returned to the same place, or it had gone back through the whole circle of the signs. After the battle of Actium, the Egyptian astronomers adopted the method of intercalating, and their year became from this time fixed.* The commencement of the year and of the month Thoth was then coincident with the twenty-ninth of August, or St. John Baptist's day, and this is the plan we have exhibited.

As Plutarch wrote subsequently to this alteration, when the festivals, which were probably in early times shifted from month to month according to the variation of the calendar and the discrepancies between the vague year and the seasons, had now become fixed, we may easily understand why he connects them with particular days in the calendar.

* Petavii. Ration. Temp. part ii. lib. i. c. 13.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE OTHER EGYPTIAN GODS

SECTION I.

Of some Emblematical Representations of the Sun.

OWING to the frequent recurrence of the figures of animals, and similar objects, in the Egyptian sculptures and symbolical representations, we incur a danger of confounding forms that were merely intended as types or emblems of the elements, or the departments of nature, with the figures of the gods, or of the divine animals. What adds to this difficulty is, that we have reason to suspect that several of the ancient writers have fallen into errors, not being aware of this distinction.

The Egyptians had several methods of representing by symbols the progress of the sun, and the changes of the seasons. They figured the Sun, or rather the Day, under the emblem of a new-born infant, at the winter-solstice, and as passing during the year through all the stages of life, until towards the return of winter he became old and effete. We obtain this information from Macrobius, who says, "that the figures of Bacchus or Liber Pater, represented various ages, some having the form of boyhood, others of youth, while some were bearded like adult men, and others bore the aspect of decrepid age. These diversities, of age," he adds, "are referred to the Sun, who is painted in the figure of a

little infant at the winter-solstice, when the days are shortest; but the length of the days increasing, he acquires at the vernal equinox the vigour of a youth, and is typified accordingly by that emblem. Afterwards we find the age of perfect manhood marked by a long beard, and this form relates to the summer-solstice, at which season the Sun has acquired his greatest power. At length, when the days diminish, he is represented in a fourth form, in that of an old and decrepid man."*

It is true that Macrobius here mentions the various figures of Bacchus; but these representations bear no reference to the Egyptian history of Osiris, or to any forms of worship. The images he describes seem, on the contrary, to belong to the symbolical delineation or picture-writing of the Egyptians; and Macrobius was probably mistaken in confounding them with the figures associated with religious rites and fables.

Plutarch mentions a festival bearing some allusion to these representations. He says, "upon the twenty-second of Phaophi, after the autumnal equinox, the Egyptians celebrate the *staves*, or *crutches* of the Sun, intimating, that as the sun is at that time receding from us, and in an oblique position, his heat and light begin to grow weaker, and that he therefore stands in need of support and subsidiary strength."†

Other modes of transforming the type of the sun, according to the changes of the year, were occasionally adopted. A figure with painted wings denoted the sun, and the wings were of different colours, according as the emblem represented that luminary, in

* Macrob. Sat. lib. i.

† Plut. Isid et Osir. cap. 52.

the upper or lower half of the zodiac. In the upper hemisphere, the sun had wings of a brilliant hue; but in the wintry months, or during his infernal course, he was painted with pinions of a dark blue colour.*

We are also informed by Porphyry, that "the sun was represented as undergoing a change of form in each of the twelve signs; or as transmuting himself into the figure of the zodion or animal, which corresponded with each of the twelve departments of the zodiac."†

It does not appear that these transfigurations bore any reference to the worship of the Egyptian gods. They certainly have no apparent connection with the history of Isis and Osiris, as detailed in the mythologue;‡ and, if I mistake not, a want of attention to this circumstance has given rise to erroneous theories respecting a considerable part of the Egyptian superstition.

SECTION II.

Of the hypothesis of Jablonski, and some other writers, respecting Sarapis, Harpocrates, Horus, Jupiter Ammon, Hercules, and Pan.

These symbolical figures, particularly the metamorphoses which the type of the sun is said to have

* Macrob. Sat. lib. i.

† Porphyr. Epist. ad Annebon. præfix. Iamblich. de Myst. Ægypt.

‡ The only exception to this remark is the story that Harpocrates was born at the solstice; but this may be a casual coincidence: at any rate it affords no foundation for the system about to be considered.

undergone in the Egyptian calendar, as it assumed the forms of the zodiacal emblems, have given occasion to a celebrated hypothesis respecting several of the Egyptian divinities. It happens that several of the zodiacal figures represent animals which were sacred to particular gods. The ram was the sacred animal of Ammon, or the Egyptian Jupiter. The ram is also one of the twelve signs, or zodia. Hence it is easy to conjecture that Ammon is only the Sun metamorphosed into the form of the sign Aries. On similar principles, many parts of the Egyptian mythology have been converted into a system of astronomical allusions.

Among the moderns, Kircher* and Basnage† seem to have had glimpses of this method of interpretation. According to Basnage, the Persian Mithra, whom he supposes to be copied from the Egyptian Osiris, riding upon a bull, denoted the Sun in the sign Taurus. But Jablonski had systematized these notions, and built an ingenious theory, which extends to a great part of the Egyptian mythology, on the foundation of a few obscure hints, connected together by the aid of plausible conjectures and Coptic etymologies. Among the various forms which the signs of the zodiac, and the different ages of the sun present, he has found places for most of the Egyptian gods.

I have already mentioned the general conclusions which I am inclined to draw respecting some of these divinities; others remain to be treated of in the sequel. I shall now briefly notice the ideas which

* See Kircher's Templ. Isiac.

† Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. liv. iii. chap. 18.

Jablonski has entertained, with respect to the offices and relations of those which he refers to the Sun and the zodiacal signs.

1. The infant Harpocrates was born about the solstice of winter. Harpocrates is therefore, according to Jablonski, the Sun represented as an infant in the first stage of his progress, when the days are yet short, and the heat and light defective. This is the best supported of Jablonski's conjectures, and rests upon some striking coincidences. Harpocrates, indeed, as being connected with the story of Isis and Osiris, certainly bears some relation to the Sun and the progress of the seasons, though there is nothing to prove our authors particular explanation.

2. Jupiter was worshipped at Thebes in the form of a ram, or of a human figure with a ram's head. Ammon therefore represents the Sun in the sign Aries.

3. Hercules is supposed to be the sun after the equinox, when he has acquired strength. This conjecture is only supported by an etymology of the Egyptian name of Hercules, which Jablonski derives, with great probability, from *Jom,* meaning strength or power.

4. Horus. A place is secured for Horus among the zodiacal animals, on the authority of a passage of Horapollo, who says, " that lions were placed under the throne of Horus, to express a certain symbolical relation between that animal and the god." Horus is accordingly conjectured to be the Sun in the sign Leo, when, about the solstice of summer, he has acquired his full vigour.

5. Mendes, or Pan, was worshipped in the form of a goat. In this instance, Jablonski seems to desert his

principle of interpretation, and, instead of seeking a place for Pan in the zodiac,* he refers this god to the generative influences of the solar beams.

6. The Sun, in the latter part of his career, was represented, as we have seen, by the form of a decrepid old man. This reminds our author of Serapis. Serapis, with him, is the wintry sun, or the sun in the three last months of the year. On this subject we have treated in the foregoing pages.

The chief authority on which Jablonski relies for the support of these conjectures is a fragment preserved by Macrobius, and considered by that writer as a response of the oracle of Apollo, at Claros. This passage seems to connect the several parts of our author's hypothesis. It is as follows:

φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰάω,
χείματι μὲν τ' Ἀΐδην, Δία τ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο,
Ἥλιον δὲ θέρευς, μετοπώρου δ' ἀβρὸν Ἰάω.

"Declare Iao to be supreme over all the gods, who in the winter is Pluto; Jupiter in the beginning of the spring; the Sun in the summer, and in autumn the tender or infant Iao."

With respect to this fragment it must be observed that Macrobius has given no hint, and that there is no internal proof of its bearing any reference to the

* He might have found authority in support of this notion; for Hyginus affirms that Pan, in order to escape the persecution of Typhon, assumed the fore-parts of a goat, and the tail of a fish; that is, that he became the sign of Capricorn.—Hygin. Poet. Astron. lib. ii. cap. 28. This is a more perfect coincidence than any of those adduced by Jablonski.

Egyptian mythology. Indeed the name Iao, which is the Greek way of writing the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, affords a clear proof that the passage was a forgery of some sect of Christian heretics; and Jablonski himself admits it to be a fragment of Gnostic mysticism.* On this account it is unworthy of credit. But even if it were allowed to be of the highest authority, it would only support two of the explanations above mentioned, which it directly contradicts one of them: the circumstance of the infant god ruling the autumnal season is irreconcilable with Jablonski's system.

But an objection to this hypothesis which has, in my opinion, much greater weight than any of the arguments which are forced into its support, arises from the testimony of the Greeks, who uniformly assure us that the Egyptian Jupiter, Pan, Hercules, Apollo, and other gods, coincide with the Grecian divinities of the same names. Now, though we allow that the resemblance was probably not perfect or uniform, still there must have been a general congruity, at least in the most striking attributes. But Jablonski's theory leaves not even the most remote analogy between the gods of the Greeks, and those of Egypt, whom the former people looked upon as the prototypes of their own theocracy.

* The name Ἰάω occured often in the mystical emblems of the Gnostics. Fabretti has published an Abraxas, with this inscription "Ἰάω Ἀδοναὶ Ελωαὶ Ἀβραξας," surrounding the figure of a serpent, with Anubis on the reverse. See Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. liv. iii. chap. 26. on the Cabbala of the Christian heretics. The Ἁρὸς Ιαω, or "Infant Jehovah," is evidently neither Harpocrates nor Serapis.

I shall conclude my remarks on this subject, by collecting a few scattered hints relating to the Egyptian Jupiter, Hercules, and Pan; which, however, are too scanty to afford a satisfactory elucidation of the precise character and attributes assigned to them in this system of mythology.

SECTION III.

Ammon, or the Egyptian Jupiter.

"The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "call Jupiter, *Ammoun*." This was the god worshipped in the Theban Nome, the capital of which was accordingly called by the Greeks, Diospolis. All the Greek writers are so unanimous in declaring this god to be the Zeus, or Jove, of their own mythology,* that we cannot but believe that a striking analogy subsisted between the African and the European Jupiter. We are expressly assured that the worship of Jupiter was introduced into Greece from Egypt, and the Olympian Jove still maintained his connection with the banks of the Nile; for Homer sends him occasionally to a festival in Ethiopia.

Ζεὺς γαρ ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
Χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα· θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο.†

"Jupiter went yesterday on the ocean to the feast of the blameless Æthiopians, and the company of gods followed his procession."

* Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 42. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. Diodor. lib. i. cap. 1. Iamblich. de Myst. Ægyptiorum, sect. viii. c. 3.

† Iliad. A. v. 423.

Homer seems here to refer to a ceremony that was practised by the inhabitants of the Thebaid, of which Diodorus and Eustathius give us a particular account.* The statue of the Theban Jupiter was carried up the Nile every year, with a splendid procession, into Ethiopia, or, as it is probably meant, to a temple of the same god at Meroë. There he was received with great pomp, and at length returned to Egypt, after honouring with his presence the annual festival of the Ethiopians or Meroites. It is therefore plain, that Homer considered Jupiter as the same with Ammon, or the god of Diospolis.

The Greek interpretations of the name Ammon throw no light upon his nature. According to Manethon, AMMON, or AMOUN, meant "*concealed,* or *concealment;*" but Hecatæus said, that the Egyptians used this word when they called each other;" and Plutarch adds, "that this invocation was uttered to the chief god, whom they identify with the universe itself, calling on him, and entreating him, as if invisible and concealed, to make himself manifest."† Ammon, therefore, according to these writers, seems to have meant the Spirit of the universe, which was supposed to be invisible in its nature, but was perhaps imagined, like other objects of Egyptian superstition, to be subject to the power of incantation,‡ and to present itself sometimes in a defined shape to the eyes of the magician.§

* Diod. lib. ii. p. 88. Eustath. in Iliad. A. p. 128.

† Plut. Isid. cap. 9. ‡ See Iamblichus de Myst. Ægypt.

§ It was believed that, by certain religious acts it was in the power of mortals to obtain a visible perception of the celestial beings. See the extracts from the works of Manethon, in the latter part of this volume.

This idea of the nature of Ammon coincides with the testimony of Diodorus, who professes to borrow his accounts from Egyptian writers; that is, from Egyptians of the Ptolemaic age, who wrote in Greek. He informs us, that the Egyptian philosophers reckoned five elements, adding to the four commonly enumerated, one which they termed "πνεῦμα," or *spirit*. This is the same as the celestial æther of the Greeks, which was supposed to fill the highest regions of the heavens. Hence a quickening or enlivening influence was supposed by the Egyptians to be derived into all animated creatures. This vital æther, or principle of life, was called, according to Diodorus, Jupiter or Ammon.

Iamblichus gives a similar interpretation of the name of this god, though he involves it in the phraseology of the later Platonic school, from which it is necessary to divest all his statements, before we can derive instruction from them. He tells us, "that the demiurgus or creator, as he proceeds to the work of generation, and *developes the occult powers* of his reasons or designs, is called Ammon."*

Such are the scanty notices we can collect concerning Ammon. If we suppose these authors to be correct, (and their agreement seems to establish their credibility) we can understand how this god was identified by the Greeks with Jupiter, the *invisible* god of the firmament, who sometimes *manifests* himself by lightning and other meteoric phænomena. But Jablonski's idea, that Ammon was the Sun in Aries, is not only at variance with all the authorities cited above, but

* Iamblich. sect. viii. cap. 3.

affords no sort of relation between the Egyptian god and the Greek deity, to whom oracles and shrines were said to have been erected by votaries of the Theban Jove. It may be worth while also to remark, that the season when Jablonski supposes the Sun to have been worshipped under the name of Ammon, viz. about the vernal equinox, was the period when the most joyful festivities were celebrated in honour of *Osiris*, who was then invoked as the being who resided in the *solar orb*, and thence diffused his fertilizing rays through the sublunary world.* At this very season, when Osiris was chiefly worshipped in the Sun, it is improbable that Ammon was adored as the dæmon of the same luminary.

SECTION VI.

The Egyptian Hercules.

Hercules was one of the twelve native deities of Egypt, and bore no relation, except perhaps a casual resemblance, to the Grecian demi-god, the son of Alcmena. Cicero calls him the offspring of the Nile.

Jablonski's etymology of the Egyptian name of Hercules is one of the most satisfactory that occur in

* There is, indeed, a coincidence in the bodily form of Ammon and the figure of the sign; but it is fully as probable that the asterism was named after and copied from the Theban ram, as that the Theban ram was worshipped as a type of the constellation.

the whole of his work. It appears from Eratosthenes that this god was in Egypt called SEM; and Pythagoras interpreted Hercules, "την δυναμιν τῆς φύσεως," *the power or energy of nature.* Power or strength is, in the Coptic, Jom or Dsom; and this word appears to be the etymon of the Egyptian name of Hercules. But in this instance, though the attempt to interpret the name is successful, it has led the author but a short way towards his conclusion respecting the attribute of the god.

Jablonski conjectures that Hercules was the Sun after he has passed the vernal equinox, and that the same luminary, when he arrives at the summer-solstice, became Horus or Apollo. Dupuis, who adopts the same hypothesis in general respecting the Egyptian gods, reverses, in this case, the conjecture of Jablonski, and supposes the vernal Sun to have been Apollo, and the solstitial Hercules. This may serve to show on how slippery a foundation the whole scheme of these authors has been erected.

There are, however, some passages of the mythologic writers, which indicate an obscure relation between the rites of Hercules and the solar worship. Plutarch says, "the Egyptians supposed that Hercules was seated in the Sun and moved round the world in company with that celestial body." And Macrobius informs us, "that the religious ceremonial of the Egyptians expressed, by multiplied rites, the multiplied powers of the divinity, and signified that Hercules was the Sun that exists in all and through all." From these observations it might be conjectured, that the power of solar attraction or gravitation was figured under the type of Hercules, if such an idea did not appear too

refined and philosophical.* The theorists, however, of the Orphic school, who derived all their dogmas from Egypt, designated by Hercules the efficient cause in nature, which they imagined to distribute the universe into its different parts, and to perform those operations which depend upon gravitation. This appears from a passage of Athenagoras: "Water was," according to Orpheus, "the principle of all things; from the subsiding of water, mud was produced; and from both these elements, an animal in the figure of a Dragon with a Lion's head, the middle of whose body expressed that form of the deity which is called Hercules and Time. From Hercules an egg of immense magnitude was produced, which having become full, and undergoing incubation, was broken by the same being who had brought it forth, and distributed into two parts; the upper portion formed the Heaven, and the lower one the Earth." The distribution of the elements is ascribed to the power of Hercules.

The emblems which enter into the compound form of Hercules, according to this description of Athenagoras, are those which denote physical power or strength. Such is the probable etymology of his name; and his office was to uphold the distribution of the universe.

* This sense might be affixed to the invocation of Nonnus, an Egyptian poet:

> Αστροχίτων Ηρακλες, ἄναξ πυρὸς, ὅρχαμε κόσμυ
> Ηέλιε Ερστεοιο ἕϊου δολιχόσκιε ποιμήν,
> κύκλον ἄγεις μετὰ κυκλον.
>
> "Starry-robed Hercules, king of fire, who settest in array the universe: thou Sun, &c. who revolvest circle after circle."

All that we know of the Egyptian Hercules is, that his attribute was strength or power. We may hence conjecture, that those phænomena in nature which present the most striking appearances of power and energy were ascribed to him, and first suggested the existence of this imaginary agent.

It is easy to understand why the Egyptians, who established their rites among the Pelasgi, chose to identify their Hercules, or god of strength, with the story of a Grecian hero, famous for the exploits which distinguish a barbarous chieftain. The labours of the Bœotian Hercules were adventures of this class; and yet it is possible that their number, and some of their connections, might be subsequently arranged, with reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Porphyry gives this explanation of the labours of Hercules, and the same idea occurs in a verse attributed to Orpheus:

Δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἆθλα διέρπων.

"Advancing through his twelve labours from the east to the west."*

It appears that Jupiter, or Ammon, denoted the vital force that moves and enlivens animated bodies. So it would seem that by Hercules was expressed the power which arranges and distributes the parts of

* Dupuis has written an elaborate commentary on this passage, which displays much ingenuity, though, perhaps, it is not likely to convince many persons of the truth of the author's hypothesis. The reader may see an abstract of it in the British Review, vol. 8, p. 370. Dupuis has taken it, without acknowledgement, from Court de Gebelin's Monde Primitif.

inanimate nature, which actuates and directs the movements of those great masses, whose locomotion excites the idea of prodigious strength. The Egyptian Hercules was, perhaps, originally the same as Atlas, who was himself an African deity, the god of strength, or of that energy in nature that upholds the world, or, as others say, that supports the pillars on which the universal fabric rests.

κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ὤμοις ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.*

"Supporting on his shoulders the vast pillars
Of heaven and earth, a weight of cumbrous grasp."†

SECTION V.

Pan.

Pan was one of the eight gods who constituted the first or most ancient rank of the Egyptian deities. He was worshipped in the Mendesian nome, under the form of a he-goat, and gave his name to the city of Mendes.‡ Of the abominations that were practised in honour of this god, we shall have another occasion to speak. At present we are only interested in his office or attributes.

* Æschyli. Prometh. Vinct.

† Potter's Translation of Æschylus.

‡ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 46. Suidas in voce Μενδης. A great number of passages, referring to the worship of Mendes, are collected by Bochart, in his Hierozoicon, part i. lib. ii. c. 43.

On this subject there is no obscurity. Suidas says, that the goat was worshipped "ὡς ἀνακείμενον τῇ γονίμῳ δυνάμει· ὀχευτικὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῶον." The same idea is assigned as the origin of these rites, by Diodorus Siculus,* Horapollo,† and Nonnus, cited by Gregory Nazianzen.‡ It is therefore undoubted, that Pan, among the Egyptians, typified the power of animal reproduction, or was the dæmon who was supposed to preside over that process by which all the species of living creatures are perpetuated. The idea which occasioned the form of the goat to be selected as a symbol of this quality, is sufficiently obvious. The Greeks give a similar explanation of the figure attributed to the Grecian Pan.§

The worship of Mendes was confined to the Mendesian nome; but there was a city in Upper Egypt, which the Greeks also called Panopolis. This was the city which the Egyptians termed Chemmis, or Chemmo, and Diodorus interpreted its name, "the city of Pan." This was not, however, the same Pan that was worshipped at Mendes. The latter had a form resembling that of Priapus, and held in his hand the whip of Osiris or Horus. In the account which Stephanus gives of the god of Panopolis,‖ we

* Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 78. † Hieroglyph. lib. ii. c. 28.

‡ Collect. Hist. ad Greg. Invectivas. See the authorities cited by Bochart. loc. cit. and by Jablonski.

§ See Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. de Pane. Hymn. Orphic ad Panem.

‖ Stephan. Byzant. voce Πανὸς πόλις. This author describes the statue of Pan in almost the same terms which Plutarch adopts in describing the figure of Osiris. He says, Ἔστι καὶ τῷ θεοῦ ἄγαλμα, ὄρθιακὸν ἔχον τὸ αἰδοῖον· ἐπαίρει τε μάστιγας τῇ

recognise Osiris in one of his principal characters. As Boubastis and Eilithyia occupy one of the offices of Isis, so we find Mendes possessed of an attribute which is elsewhere consigned to Osiris; and it seems to be evident, that the idol of Chemmis was only Osiris or Horus, in the function which is proper to both of them, viz. as presiding over animal generation. It is not difficult to understand why the Greeks confounded him with the god to whom this attribute particularly belonged.*

SECTION VI.

Papremis, the Egyptian Mars.

Another member of the Egyptian theocracy, of whom we have but scanty accounts, was Papremis, whom Herodotus calls Ares, or Mars. He was worshipped in the province of the same name, under the form of the Hippopotamus.† At least that animal was the sacred beast and tutelar god of this district.

δεξιᾶ σελήνη, ἧς εἴδωλον φασιν εἶναι τὸν Πᾶνα. This was evidently a statue of Osiris, or of Horus. See Plutarch, de Isid. p. 371, and the Count de Caylus, Recueil d'Antiq. tom vi. where several figures of Osiris occur, exactly of this description.

* There is no ground, in any of the accounts which the ancients have left us, for Jablonski's hypothesis, that the worship of Mendes bore a reference to the Sun; and the Coptic interpretation of the name, on which that author founds his conjecture, is forced and unsatisfactory.

† Herod. ii. cap. 71. Item. cap. 59—61.

Herodotus gives no hint that the worship of Papremis was connected with that of Typhon; but we learn from Plutarch, that the Hippopotamus was a Typhonian animal. "At Hermopolis," says Plutarch, "they show a statue of Typhon, which represents a river-horse, on the back of which stands a hawk, fighting with a serpent." He adds, "that on the seventh of Tybi, when the Egyptians celebrated the arrival of Isis from Phœnicia, they made cakes stamped with the form of a river-horse bound."

Eusebius informs us that there was, in the city of Apollinopolis, a statue of Horus, or Apollo, in the act of transfixing Typhon. Apollo was represented with a human figure and the head of a hawk, and Typhon in the form of a Hippopotamus. He adds, that the Hippopotamus was supposed to denote the western *pole* or quarter of the heavens, and that he was represented as gaping upwards and receiving into his open jaws the descending Sun.*

The Hippopotamus was, in ancient times, well known in Egypt, but had disappeared in the age of Julian. Nonnus describes it in terms which prove that its habits were little known in his time.

κεῖθι μελαμψηφίδι διαξύων ῥοῖον ὁπλῇ
νήχεται ὑδατόεις ποταμήϊος ἵππος ἀλήτης.

"There swims upon the flood the wandering horse,
Whose huge black hoof shatters the silver wave."
DIONYS. lib. xxvi.

From the time of Job, the Hippopotamus has been a type of strength and impetuosity. Bochart asserts it to be the Behemoth. Hierozoic. part 2, lib. v.

* Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 12.

From these remarks, it would appear that Papremis was a form or *avatar* of Typhon, the genius of destruction. The Hippopotamus, the huge Behemoth, was no unapt image of the god of war.

SECTION VII.

Anoubis, or Anubis.

Few of the Egyptian gods were more celebrated than Anubis. He was greatly venerated by the Egyptians in general, but chiefly in the city and nome of Cynopolis. The statue of Anubis had the head of a dog, and dogs were sacred in his dominion, and fed in the temples, at the public charge.*

Anubis is mentioned by a great number of classical authors.† Propertius alludes to him, in speaking of Cleopatra.‡

> "Ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim,
> Et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas."

* Strabo. lib. xv. p. 558. Stephan de urb. voc. κυνῶν πολις.

† A large collection of these authorities may be seen in Bochart's Hierozoicon, part 1, lib. ii. cap. 56, page 691, to which Jablonski has added some others. As there may be some of my readers who have not access to either of these authors, I shall give the citations. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 66. Diodor. lib. i. p. 52, 54. Clemens Alex. in protreptico, p. 25. Lucian. in Deorum concilio. Ovid, lib. ii. Amor. Eleg. 13. Athenæus, lib. vii. p. 300. Virgil. Æneid. vii. v. 698. et Servius ad locum. Plutarch de Iside et Osir. p. 368. item p. 380. Ælian de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 26.

‡ Propertius, lib. iii. eleg. 11.

The attribute of Anubis is enveloped in great obscurity. Plutarch says that some of the Egyptian writers understood, by Anubis, the horizontal circle which divides the invisible from the visible part of the world.* Jablonski has adopted this idea, and has attempted to afford countenance to it by his etymology of the name of the god, which he derives from the Coptic word "*Nub*, or *Annub*," signifying "*Golden*." But this epithet would more aptly be applied to *twilight*, the harbinger of day, than to the horizontal circle; and there are some considerations which render it probable that this phænomenon, among others, was refered to Anubis, and may have given origin to the name.

Anubis was the constant companion and precursor of Isis and Osiris, but chiefly of the former. Hence the Greeks call him Hermes or Mercury. He is so named by Martianus Capella, who mentions him in the following lines:

Qui solus ante currum
Et candidos jugales
Altipotens parentis
Memorem cîêre virgam.

Satyrico, lib. ii.

Apuleius thus describes him, as appearing at the head of the procession in honour of the goddess. "Nec mora, cum Dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere, prodeunt; hic horrendum attollens canis cervices arduas, ille superûm commeator et inferûm, nunc aureâ, nunc atrâ facie sublimis, lævâ caduceum,

* Plut. ibid.

gerens, dextrâ palmam virentem quatiens."* Diodorus assigns him the same place, in front of the pomp of Isis.† Plutarch says that Mercury, by which name he here evidently means Anubis, is seated in the Moon, in her circuit round the world,‡ and is represented as the faithful guardian of Isis.

Anubis may have had originally a meaning simply physical; but his attributes were in later times at least more extended, and he was regarded as the harbinger of the gods, as the opener or beginner of all their operations. He resembles in some respects the Mercury, in others the Janus of the Romans. Thus he is called, by Statius, "the door-keeper."§

> "Te præside noseat
> Cur servet Pharias lethæus Janitor aras."

This relation, perhaps, suggested the idea that Anubis was the Egyptian Kronus. We learn from Plutarch, that this was the opinion of some writers in his time. ‖

The physical explanation preferred by Jablonski is incompatible with the testimony of Plutarch, mentioned above, viz. that Anubis was imagined to hold his station in the Moon, and revolve with that planet round the world. It is not less opposed to the statement of the old writers, that Mercury was a dæmon, who assisted the magician, and was every where ready when roused by incantations. Dion Cassius relates, that when the army of Marcus Aurelius was distressed for want of rain, the Egyptians, by means

* Apuleii Metamorph. lib. xi. † Diodor. lib. i. p. 78.
‡ Isid. cap. 43. § Statii Sylvarum, lib. iii. num. 2. v. 108.
‖ Plut. Isid. p. 368.

of magical arts, obtained the aid of that Mercury who dwells in the air, and of other dæmons, and that through their intervention relief was given to the troops in salutary showers.*

After all, it must be confessed that the proper and original character of Anubis lies under no small degree of obscurity. It appears indeed, that in heaven he held the office which the Greeks gave to Aurora, the forerunner of day; that in the festivals of the gods he was the leader of the pompous processions, and that he was regarded every where as the companion or harbinger of Isis and Osiris. In many particulars he corresponds with Janus; in others with Mercury; yet the resemblance to either is far from complete. That Anubis had in the Egyptian mythology the office of "*Pompaios,*" or of conducting the souls of the dead to their place of destination, seems to be proved by some remains of ancient painting and sculpture.†

SECTION VIII.

Thoth, or Mercury.

There was another Egyptian god, whom the Greek and Latin writers uniformly name Hermes, or

* In Epitome Xiphilin.

† See the Plate adjoined, where Anoubis is represented as performing the office of the "Commeator Inferum." The former of these figures is copied from Montfaucon's Antiquities, and the latter from the Count de Caylus's Collection. See also the figure of Anubis in the Frontispiece.



Aulis.



Mercury. They say that in the Egyptian language he was called Theuth, or Thoth.

To this Hermes all the science and learning of the Egyptians were attributed. He taught them the art of writing, gave them laws, and instructed them in astronomy, geometry, medicine, and other sciences.* Hence the books composed by the priests on these subjects, which were preserved in the Egyptian temples, were called Hermetic books, as being consecrated to Hermes, and supposed to be written by persons inspired by this god.†

From this character of Hermes, many writers have supposed that he was a learned man, who made many useful inventions, and was deified through gratitude.‡ But this notion is evidently of Grecian origin, and foreign to the habits and ideas of the Egyptians. Thoth appears to have been a god of the same class with the other objects of Egyptian worship, and to have had either a physical, or an ideal origin.

Like other Egyptian deities, Thoth had a sacred animal appropriated to him, whose form was connected with his particular rites. The animal consecrated to Thoth was the Ibis,§ that bird of which such prodigious numbers have been found embalmed in mummy-pits. It is reported by many authors,

* Plat. in Philebo. p. 156. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 22.

† Iamblich. de Mysteriis Ægypt.

‡ Authorities cited by Harles, in the first vol. of Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc. De Hermeticis libris.

§ The consecrated animal of Thoth was the Ibis, according to Plato in Phædro, p. 212. Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib i. cap. 10, et 36. Ælian. de Animal. lib. x. cap. 29.

that Mercury, when the gods were assailed by Typhon, changed himself into an Ibis, in order to elude the pursuit of that monster.*

Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis.

OVID. *Met. lib.* v. 330.

The Ibis, then, was the favourite form of Mercury, or that representation under which he chose to be worshipped by his votaries in Egypt, particularly in the Hermopolite nome. Let us now inquire further into the nature of this god.

We have seen that his attribute was science, or that he was supposed to preside over and inspire all the sacred or mystical learning of the Egyptian hierarchy. We have found however, that the gods of this people had in general their origin in some physical idea, rather than in any metaphysical or abstract conception. Hence there is reason to suspect that the same observation may be true respecting Thoth, or Hermes. The allusion which the form of the Ibis, as an emblem or hieroglyphic, is said to contain, will perhaps direct us to the original sense of this ideal being.

Horapollo informs us that the Egyptians "designate *the heart* by the emblematical figure of the Ibis; for this animal," he adds, "is intimately connected with Hermes, the president of the heart, and of the reasoning faculty; the form of the Ibis itself bears a singular resemblance to the heart, and this congruity is a

* "Quo timore permotos (deos) in alias figuras se convertisse, Mercurium factum esse Ibidem, &c." Hyginus. Poet. Astron. lib. ii. cap. 28. See also Antoninus Liberalis, Fab. 28, and Apollodorus, lib. i. p. 21.

circumstance much noticed by the Egyptians."* Ælian also says that "the Egyptian fabulists observed that the Ibis, when it was seen sitting with its neck bent forwards, and its head concealed under its wings, resembled the form of the heart."

The Ibis was therefore the emblem by which the Egyptians represented the heart; and we are informed that they, in common with many other ancient nations, regarded the heart as the seat of the intellect.† We may consider this as the physical idea which gave origin to the Egyptian Hermes, who, as Horapollo says, was the president of the heart, or a personification of that wisdom that was supposed to dwell in the inward parts."

* Horapoll. Hierog. lib. i. cap. 10.

† Some passages in the writings of Solomon show that this was the notion of the Hebrews, at the time when their connection with the Egyptians was most intimate. "He hath put understanding in the heart, and wisdom in the inward parts."—*Ecclesiastes.*

Not only the passions, but the rational powers, were by most of the ancients referred to the heart; and Galen thought it necessary to enter into a formal argument, in order to show that the understanding or the reason, which he calls "τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν," the governing principle, had its chief seat in the brain. Galen de Dogm. Hippocrat. et Plat.

The passions are still, in vulgar language, referred to the heart; and the origin of this prejudice is very obvious. It is alluded to in the following quaint verses of Anaxandrides, the comic poet of Rhodes.

Ω πονηρὰ καρδία·
ἐπιχαιρέκακον ὡς εἶ μόνον τοῦ σώματος,
ὀρχεῖ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἢν ἴδῃς δεδοικότα.

The last-mentioned writer observes, " that besides the Ibis, one species of Scarabæus was consecrated to Hermes."*

" O malicious heart!
Thou alone rejoicest in the evils of the body,
For thou leapest whenever it is seized with terror."

See Athenæus. Deipnosophistæ, lib. xv. p. 688, and Casaubon. Animadvers. p. 973.

* Though the existence of Thoth among the Egyptian gods seems as well supported by ancient authority as that of most other members of the theocracy, yet Jablonski has whimsically chosen to erase him from the list, merely because the word Thu-othi, in the Coptic, signifies a pillar. Hence he conjectures, with much ingenuity, that the name of the pillars or obelisks on which the sciences of the Egyptians were set forth in inscriptions, gave rise to a mistake, and occasioned the invention of the god Thoth. Yet the worship of the Ibis was so celebrated, and has left us so many vestiges, and the testimony is so uniform, that Thoth was the god adored under this form, that the existence of Osiris himself, (such existence as can be predicated of beings engendered in the brains of pagan mythologists) is scarcely better authenticated than that of the first Hermes.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE EGYPTIAN GODDESSES.

SECTION I.

Of Isis.

THE ancient writers mention several Egyptian goddesses. Most of these, however, if not all of them, appear to have been nothing else than varied forms or characters of Isis. Before we consider the descriptions of these goddesses, it will be necessary to recapitulate and generalize the observations made in a former chapter, on the attributes of Isis.

Jablonski considers Isis as simply denoting the Moon. It is certain that the worship of this goddess had a close relation to the Moon; and there are some passages in which the ancient writers intimate, or expressly declare, that Isis was only another name for that planet. We have cited a passage from Diodorus, in which he informs us, "that the Sun and Moon were adored by the Egyptians under the titles of Osiris and Isis." The same assertion is made by Diogenes Laërtius.* We are also told by Plutarch, that some authors expressly affirmed "that Osiris was the Sun, and that Isis was nothing else than the Moon; that some of the images of this goddess were accordingly made with horns, in imitation of the

* Diogenes Laërtius de Vit. Philos. in Pröœm.

lunar crescent, and were attired in sable robes, to denote those occultations and shadowings which the Moon undergoes in the pursuit of the Sun; that for this reason the Moon was invoked in all affairs of love, over which Eudoxus affirms that Isis presides."* The well-known story of the Argive Io was doubtless founded on the Egyptian fables relating to Isis. Jablonski has remarked that *Io* was the common term for the Moon in the Coptic language; and he has cited some passages which declare that the ancient people of Argos invoked the Moon by this appellation.†

But the name of Isis seems only to have been applied to the Moon in the same manner in which Virgil gives the appellation of Ceres to that celestial body. The general acceptation of both these names is much more extensive.

Herodotus repeatedly observes, "that Isis corresponded with the Demeter of the Greeks,"‡ and Diodorus confirms this assertion. Demeter, or Gemeter, as the name sufficiently proves, meant originally the Earth, and the epithet is thus explained by Lucretius:§

> Linquitur at merito maternum nomen adepta
> Terra sit, è terrâ quoniam sint cuncta creata.
>
> "The Earth is rightly called the Mother,
> Since from the teeming Earth all things arise."

* Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. cap. 52.

† Jablonski Panth. Ægypt.

‡ Ισις δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Ελλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 59.

§ Lucret. de Rer. Nat. lib. v. 796.

Macrobius, whom we have before cited, agrees with these authors. He says, "Nec in occulto est, neque aliud esse Osirim quam Solem, nec aliud Isin esse quam Terram;"* and again, "Isis est vel Terra, vel Natura rerum subjacens Soli."† Plutarch generalizes all the attributes or characters of Isis, and considers her as representing "the female qualities or powers of Nature, which are the passive principles of generation in all productions; whence," he says, "she is called, by Plato, the *Nurse*," and the "*All-receiving*, and is commonly termed Myrionymus, or "*Possessing ten thousand names.*"‡ The same idea is more diffusely expressed by Apuleius, in a passage in which Isis calls herself, "Natura, rerum parens, elementorum omnium domina"—"quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flumina, Inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso; cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis."§

The sphere of the Moon, as we have already observed from the testimony of Macrobius and Ocellus, was regarded as the boundary of the celestial and the sublunary world. The Moon was the great moving body of the lower heavens, in which Isis was supposed to receive the fertilizing influences of Osiris, and to disseminate them through the nether regions. Hence it seems to have happened that the Moon was considered as the chief seat of the genial goddess of Nature.

* Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21. † Macrob. lib. citat. c. 20.
‡ Plut. de Isid. cap. 53. § Apuleius, lib. xi.

Other passages of a similar import have been adduced in a foregoing section, in which we have considered the Orphic theology and the division of Nature into masculine and feminine attributes.

On the whole, we may conclude that Isis represented the "Φυσις παναιολος," the "*Natura Multiformis*" of the Greek and Roman mythologists.

We now proceed to the remaining goddesses of Egypt, who owe their origin to a subdivision of the attributes of Isis.

SECTION II.

Of Boubastis, called, by the Greeks, Artemis, or Diana.

In the city of Bubastis, or Bubastos, there was a celebrated temple dedicated to the goddess Bubastis.* "This name," says Herodotus, "is synonymous with the Greek Artemis, or Diana. Bubastis was the daughter of Osiris and Isis."† We have very scanty accounts of this divinity: it would appear that her worship had been discontinued, or had sunk into obscurity, before Egypt fell under the Roman yoke. Otherwise Juvenal would scarcely have said,‡

"Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."

We may, however, rest satisfied, that her rites and character corresponded nearly with those of the

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 136. Stephan. de Urbibus.

† Herod. lib. citat. cap. 156. ‡ Juvenal, Sat. xv. v. 8.

Grecian Diana, from the constant testimony of Herodotus, who frequently alludes to the Egyptian goddess, under the Greek name. Like Diana, Boubastis was a chaste goddess; at least she is called by Ovid, "Sancta Bubastis;" and, like Dian or Lucina, she presided over child-birth. Hence the following epigram of Nicarchus, cited by Jablonski from the Anthology.*

οὕτω Βούβαστις καταλύεται· εἰ γάρ ἑκάστη
τέξεται ὡς αὐτη, τὶς θεοῦ ἐστι λογος.

"Thus shall Boubastis lose her dignity:
If every dame should be delivered thus,
The goddess may go starving."

Bubastis was worshipped or represented under the form of a Cat, and all the cats that died in Egypt were salted and buried at Bubastos.† From the peculiar veneration in which these animals were held by the Egyptians, we may conjecture that this goddess was a great favourite. Ovid alludes to her assuming the shape of the cat.‡

"Fele soror Phœbi; niveâ Saturnia vaccâ;
Pisce Venus latuit."

The cat, according to Plutarch, was honoured by the Egyptians, and its image was carved on the sistrum of Isis, with a peculiar reference to the Moon, with the changes of whose aspect that animal was supposed to have a certain mysterious sympathy.§

* Jablonski Panth. † Herod. lib. ii. cap. 67.
‡ Ovid. Metam. lib. 5, v. 330. § Plut. Isid. cap. 63.

The sistrum is indeed generally found connected with the images of the cat in Egyptian sculpture. Lucina, or Diana, the goddess of child-birth among the Greeks and Romans, bore also some near relation to the Moon, and, as such, she is termed Diva Triformis.

"Montium custos nemorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas,
Ter vocata audis adimisque letho
Diva Triformis."*

The triple form probably refers to the three phases of the Moon.

The same goddess is invoked in the Carmen Sæculare, as follows:

"Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis."

She is termed Genitalis, as being favourable to the production of living creatures.

But the lunar goddess was not equally propitious to child-birth in all her three phases or aspects. The superstitious notion, that certain ages of the Moon were most favourable to infants and to all new productions, and that other aspects were unlucky, prevailed very extensively; but we do not find an universal agreement in the particular ideas with which it was connected. Among the Jews, the full moon was believed to be lucky, and the two other aspects disastrous. "The full moon," says the Rabbi

* Horat. Od. lib. iii. 22.

Abravanel, "is propitious to new-born children; but if the child be born in the increase or in the wane, the horns of that planet cause death; or if it survive, it is generally guilty of some enormous crime."*

The Jewish Rabbins probably derived many parts of their dæmonology from the Egyptians, but we cannot venture to ascribe this superstition to the latter people without some further proof.

The Greeks and Romans entertained a similar idea respecting the lunar phases. The general opinion among them seems to have been, that the Moon presented a lucky aspect, or was propitious to child-birth, as long as its luminous face was on the increase, especially when near the full, and that the waning period was unfavourable.

Plutarch affirms that the Moon was supposed, when full, to assist at child-birth and relieve the pains of women. Hence, he says, "Diana is called Lochia, and Eilethyia, or Lucina, a name which refers to the Moon; and that planet was expressly termed by the poet Timotheus, ὠκυτόκος,† "the helper and quickener of child-birth." In another work, Plutarch adds "that women go through their labour most easily at the full moon."‡ Proclus observes "that various productions prosper when the moon is getting full, and fail when it is waning."§ Horace invokes

> Rite crescentem face Noctilucam
> Prosperam frugum.‖

* Basnage's Hist. des Juifs. liv. iv. chap. 11.

† Plutarch Sympos. lib. iii. p. 658.

‡ Idem in Quæstionibus Romanis.

§ Proclus in Hesiod. Op. et dies.

‖ Horat. Carm. lib. iv. od. 6.

As this fable was common to several nations whose superstitions were derived in great part from Egypt, it is probable that the Egyptians had some notion of a similar kind; and this seems to be proved by our finding that the cat, which was thought to be symbolical of the Moon, represented the Egyptian Diana or Boubastis. What the particular notion of the Egyptians on this subject may have been, we have no opportunity of determining. Jablonski has made an attempt at deciding on this point, but I think he is unsuccessful. I shall add some observations on his theory respecting the superstitions connected with the phases of the Moon, in a subsequent page.

On the whole we may conclude that Boubastis, or that goddess whose emblem was a cat, represented the beneficial influence which the Moon, or a female dæmon residing in the moon, was imagined to exert over childbirth and pregnant women. It was probably to the rites of this goddess that Chæremon chiefly alluded, in a passage quoted above, where he says that a part of the Egyptian mythology referred to the phases of the Moon.

The office of Boubastis is only one of the various functions of Isis; and the names and attributes of these goddesses coalesce. Both are nearly related to the Moon; and Isis, as well as Boubastis, was invoked by parturient women, as Eilethyia, or Lucina.

Isi, Parætonium, genialiaque arva Canopi
Quæ colis, et Memphin, palmiferamque Pharon,
* * * * *
Per tua sistra precor, per Anubidis ora verenda:
Lenis ades, precibusque meis fave, Ilithyia.

"O Isis, who delight'st to haunt the fields
Where fruitful Nile his golden harvest yields,
Who dwell'st in Memphis and the Pharian towers!
Assist Corinna with thy friendly powers.
Thee, by thy silver sistrum, I conjure,
A life so precious by thy aid secure;
So may'st thou with Osiris still find grace.
Oh! by Anubis' venerable face
I pray thee; so may still thy rites divine,
Flourish, and serpents round thy offering twine.
May horned Apis at thy pomp attend,
So thou the fair Corinna dost befriend."*

Diodorus has asserted that the city of Boubastis was erected in honour of Isis. Here the two goddesses are evidently confounded, or we must suppose that they were regarded as two personifications of the same power or attribute of nature. The Grecian Ceres and Proserpine seem to have been related to each other in the same manner.

* Ovid. Amor. lib. ii. Eleg. 13, Dryden's Translation.

SECTION III.

Eilethyia.

Diodorus mentions an Egyptian goddess to whom a city in the Thebaid was dedicated, and whose name he interprets, according to his custom, by the title of the corresponding goddess in the Grecian mythology.* The denomination he assigns to this goddess is Eilethyia, the Grecian Lucina. The historian says "that she was reckoned among the ancient or elder divinities, of the same class with Jupiter, the Sun, Hermes, Apollo, and Pan." The distinction of ancient gods might be thought to exclude Isis,† if the name of Apollo were not expressly mentioned. Since, however, we find Apollo, or Horus, included in this class, we are allowed to suppose that the Eilethyia of Upper Egypt may have been Isis, or Boubastis, under some particular form. We have seen that the office of Lucina was attributed to both these goddesses in the Egyptian mythology.

Eusebius also mentions Eilethyia, and the city where she was worshipped. He adds, "that every

* Diodor. Sid. lib. i.

† In the Grecian theogony, Diana was a younger goddess than Ceres, who corresponds with the Egyptian Isis. Yet the Greeks sometimes made Lucina one of their ancient or elder goddesses. Olen, the Delian mythological poet, who lived before Homer, represented Lucina as the same with Πεπρωμένη, or Fate, as made her more ancient than Saturn. See Pausanias. Arcadica. 21.

third day," meaning, probably, the third in each lunation, "was consecrated to her, and that her images had the form of a female vulture, with its wings spread, and composed of precious stones." This bird was in a particular manner sacred to the Moon.*

SECTION IV.

Of Isis, in her maleficent or vindictive character. Tithrambo, Hecate, or Brimo.

It is well known that, among the Greeks, Diana, or the daughter of Ceres,† or Ceres herself, for these personages are but faintly distinguished from each other and often coalesce, was supposed to have changed her form on her descent to Hades, and to have become a goddess of stern and vindictive character. Hecate, or Proserpine, (who was the same goddess, under a different name,)‡ was the punisher of guilt, and the mistress of the Furies. Hence she is described, by Nonnus, as supplying those direful avengers with arms. ‖

* Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 12.

† See Schol. ad Lycophron. Cassand. v. 1176, and particularly Meursius's Commentary on the passage.

‡ Diana was the daughter of Ceres, according to the most correct mythologists. See Herod. lib. ii. Horus and Boubastis were nursed by Bouto or Latona; hence arose the mistake of the Greeks, who fancied that Apollo and Diana were the son and daughter of Latona.

‖ Nonni Dionysiac.

"Περσεφόνη θωρήξεν Ερινυὰς."

And Virgil speaks of her as leading them in her train.

"Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes
Et diræ Ultrices."

Even Ceres herself assumed the form of an Erinnys or Fury; and this metamorphosis is described by Apollodorus and Pausanias. It is alluded to in the following verse of Antimachus:

Δημήτρος τοδὲ φασὶν Ερινυὸς εἶναι ἐδέθλον.*

"This they report to be the shrine of the Fury Ceres."

Lycophron calls this goddess

Ενναία
Ερκυν' Ερινὺς θουρία ξιφηφόρος.†

"Erinnys raging, with the brandished sword,
Queen of Sicilian Enna's flowery meads."‡

Callimachus thus describes Ceres, assuming her vindictive form.§

εἶπεν ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὴν ἐγραψάτο φωνήν·
Δαμάτηρ δ' ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο· γείνατο δ' ἀ θεῦς·
ἴθματα μὲν χέρσῳ, κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄψατ' Ολύμπῳ·

* Pausan. Arcad. cap. 25.

† Lycophron. Cassand. v. 1177.

‡ Lord Royston's translation of Lycophron, published in the Classical Journal.

§ Callimach. Hymn. ad Cererem.

οἱ μὲν ἀῤ ἡμιθνῆτες ἐπεὶ τὰν πότνιαν εἶδον
ἐξαπίνης ἀπόρουσαν.

"He said, and on her fatal tablet Nemesis
Inscribed the words. Damater, burnt with rage,
Straightway assumed her godlike form, and trod
The ground, while with her awful head she touched
Heaven's canopy. The demi-gods beheld
The fearful aspect, and in hasty flight
Sought safety."

It is further remarkable that this vengeful Hecate, the leader of the Furies, who so much resembles a phantom engendered by the terrors of a guilty conscience, is still strangely connected with the Moon. Like the chaste Dian, she has a triple form, corresponding with the three lunar aspects. Lycophron calls Hecate,

Βριμὼ τρίμορφος ——
κλαγγαῖσι ταρβήσουσα ἐννύχιοις βροτοὺς.*

"The spouse
Of gloomy Dis, queen of the triple form,
Persean Brimo, who with fearful yells
Disturbs our slumbers in the gloom of night."

The triple form referred originally, as Phurnutus declares, to the three phases of the Moon: her statue had three heads.

Ora vides Hecates in tres vergentia partes.†

* Lycophron, v. 1177.

† Ovid, Fast. lib. i. Meursius has collected a number of passages referring to the triple form of this goddess, in his Commentary on Lycophron's Cassandra, v. 1176.

In the Egyptian mythology also we learn that Isis assumed the vindictive character, though we have but scanty information on this subject. The goddess was supposed to inflict various diseases, such as madness, but particularly blindness, on those who incurred her wrath. This idea is expressed in an epigram of Lucilius, contained in the Anthology.*

ἤν τιν' ἔχῃς ἐχθρὸν Διονύσιε μὴ καταράσῃ
τὴν Ισιν τούτῳ, μηδὲ τον Αμφικράτη
μηδ' εἴτις τυφλοὺς ποιεῖ θεὸς.——

And in a passage of Ovid.

Vidi ego linigeræ numen violâsse fatentem
Isidis, Isiacos ante sedere focos.
Alter ob huic similem privatus lumine culpam,
Clamabat media, se meruisse, viâ.†

Whether the vindictive Isis was distinguished by peculiar rites is not certainly known; but, from the circumstance that the Greeks describe an Egyptian Hecate, it seems probable. That certain rites were performed in honour of a goddess whom the Greeks considered as the same with the Egyptian Hecate, appears from a passage in Epiphanius, which has not escaped the industrious research of Jablonski.

Αλλοι δὲ τῇ Τιθράμβῳ, Εκάτῃ ἑρμηνευομένῃ, ἕτεροι τῇ Νέφθυϊ, ἄλλοι δὲ τῇ Θερμοῦθι τελίσκονται.

"Some are initiated in the rites of Tithrambo, which is interpreted Hecate; others in those of Nephthys,

* Cited by Jablonski.

† Ovid. Epist. de Ponto. lib. i. cap. 1.

and some in those of Thermuthis. Diodorus Siculus also speaks of a temple of Hecate the Dark.

Hecate had therefore distinct rites in Egypt, and we must refer to her all that has been said respecting the vindictive Isis.

In the following invocation of Apuleius to Isis, her various characters are assembled. "Regina cœli sive tu Ceres alma, frugum parens originalis—seu tu cœlestis Venus,—seu Phœbi soror quæ partu fœtarum medelis lenientibus recreato, populos tantos educasti—sen nocturnis ululatibus horrenda Proserpina, triformi specie larvales impetus comprimens, terræque claustra cohibens, vario cultu propitiaris."

Thus it appears that Isis, or the *triform* goddess, that is, Isis residing in the moon, was worshipped with various rites, as a malignant or benignant power. In the former, we scarcely distinguished her from Boubastis, or Diana; in the latter she may be regarded as corresponding with the Grecian Hecate. We now proceed to the celestial Venus, whom Apuleius also identifies with Isis, but who appears to bear no particular relation to the Moon.

SECTION V.

Nephthys, or Venus Urania.

Nephthys, the sister of Isis and the wife of Typhon, was called by the Greeks, Aphrodite; she differs, however, in a great many particulars, from the Grecian Venus.

Plutarch gives us a physical explanation of Nephthys. He says, "the horizontal circle divides the lower and invisible parts of the world from the upper and visible. The former is by the Egyptians called Nephthys; the latter, Isis."*

We learn from Hesychius, that the Egyptians worshipped a goddess whom the Greeks called "Αφροδίτη Σκοτία," "the dark or nocturnal Venus."† This was evidently Nephthys.

Chæremon, the Egyptian priest whom we have before quoted, enumerates among the physical objects which his people worshipped, "the nocturnal and diurnal hemisphere."‡ He thus confirms the testimony of Plutarch. Nephthys is the divinity of the dark or infernal hemisphere.

This interpretation is further confirmed by Horapollo, who says, "that the upper hemisphere of the heavens was called, by the Egyptians, Minerva, and the lower one, Juno."§ We shall have occasion to show, that Minerva and Isis are frequently identified in the Egyptian mythology. It is here evident, that Horapollo gives the name of Juno to the same goddess, whom the writers we have before appealed to call Venus. This will presently be still more manifest.

Herodotus assures us, that the Egyptians had no goddess corresponding with the Juno of the classical mythology. When the Greek writers mention Juno

* Plut. de Isid. cap. 44. † Hesych. voce Σκοτία.

‡ Chæremon apud Porphyrium loc. supra cit.

§ Δοκεῖ παρ' Αιγυπτίοις Ἀθηνᾷ μὲν, τὸ ἄνω τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ Ἡμισφάιριον ἀπειληφέναι· τὸ δὲ κάτω Ἥρᾳ. Horapollo de Hierogl. lib. i. cap. 11.

among the divinities of that people, we are to understand the celestial Venus, whose attributes coincide in many particulars with those of Juno, and whose worship was very celebrated among the Eastern nations. Ælian, in speaking of a town in the Hermopolitan nome, adds,—" in that town they worship Venus, calling her Urania, or Celestial, and paying honours to a sacred cow."* This circumstance, that the celestial Venus was worshipped in the form of a cow, is important.

We are told by Strabo also, that the sacred animal of Venus was a white cow; and that her worship was celebrated in more than one place in Egypt. He says, " the Momemphite people adore Venus, and have a sacred cow, which they keep in the same manner as the Apis is kept at Memphis, and the Mnevis at Heliopolis." This geographer, in describing the nome of Aphroditopolis, remarks, that it contains a city of the same name as the city of Venus, where a white cow is kept, which the people regard as sacred.†

Now it is worthy of notice that the white cow is mentioned expressly as the animal form of Juno.

—— latuit niveâ Saturnia vaccâ.‡ OVID.

The conclusion to be drawn is, that Juno and the celestial Venus are the same.

From all these testimonies we are authorized in determining, as a matter fully established, that the

* Ælian. de Animal. lib. x. cap. 27.

† Strabo. lib. xvii. p. 552. Item. p. 556.

‡ That Venus, who assumed the form of a fish, was probably a goddess more allied to the Grecian Venus, the offspring of the sea; or she might represent Nephthys, in another character, as the sea-goddess.

goddess Nephthys, sometimes called Urania the celestial, or the dark or nightly Venus, at other times Juno or Saturnia, was worshipped in various parts of Egypt; that a white cow was the sacred animal or living symbol of this goddess, and that she represented the divinity of the dark or nightly heavens.

In other respects, the information that we can collect concerning this goddess is very scanty. She had mysteries of her own, as we learn from Epiphanius,* into which certain persons chose to be initiated. It is difficult to say in what respects she resembled the Grecian Venus, except in the looseness of her character,† which was too common a failing among heathen goddesses, to furnish occasion for any particular remark.

We learn further, by comparing a passage of Orion the grammarian, preserved in the Etymologicum Magnum, with one of Hesychius, that the Egyptian Venus had also the name of Athyr or Athyri. "Athyri," says the former, "is the name of a month, and the Egyptians call Venus Athor, giving to the third month of their calendar the denomination of that goddess."‡ Hesychius interprets Athyr to be the name of a month, and likewise the denomination of an ox or cow, in the

* Epiphan. loc. suprà citato.

† During the absenceof Isis, Nephthys contrived to inveigle Osiris, who mistook her for his wife, and begot a spurious offspring, which was afterwards called Anubis. Isis discovered the cheat by means of a garland of Melilotus, which Osiris left with her sister.—Plut. de Isid. cap. 14. Plutarch gives an ingenious explanation of this fable, which, however, has no reference to our present purpose.

‡ Etym. Magn. voce Ἄθύρ.

Egyptian language.* By this he probably meant that it was the appellation of the sacred cow of Aphroditopolis. This city is besides called by Herodotus, Atarbechis,† which is only Atar-baki,‡ or the city of Atar or Athyr; and the historian has informed us, that it contained a temple of Venus.

From all these evidences we learn that Venus had the same appellation as the Egyptian month Athyr, or Athyri.§

This name, however, was not peculiar to Nephthys, but common to her and her sister Isis; for Plutarch affirms that Isis was called Athyri.§ "Athyri," says Plutarch, "is interpreted the mundane habitation of Horus," that is, perhaps, the region in which Horus as the Sun is enclosed, and in which he may be said to dwell; for this seems to be rather a periphrastic epithet than a close translation of the name. The Sun

* Hesych. † Herod. lib. ii. cap. 41.

‡ See Jablonski, Pantheon. Ægypt. lib. i. cap. 1.

§ It is plain that the name of this goddess was Athyr, or Athyri, and not Athōr, as Jablonski would have it, in order that it may sound more like Ejor, which, in the modern Coptic, means *Night*. The resemblance, however, is very faint.

Jablonski has very diligently collected authorities in favour of his own idea respecting the Egyptian Venus, but has passed over those which are adverse to it, particularly Plutarch's account, which directly contradicts him. By Athor, he supposes that the Egyptians personified primeval night, or Chaos; but this explanation is purely conjectural, aud the testimonies above adduced seem to me fully sufficient to establish a very different idea. There is not one fact that renders it probable, that the Egyptians, in the worship of Athyri, had any allusion to Chaos, or the origin of the world.

§ Plut. de Isid. cap. 56.

dwells alternately in each hemisphere; each of them therefore becomes Athyri, or the habitation of Horus, in its turn.

We here find an analogy between the superstition of Egypt and that of the Syrian fabulists appealed to by Macrobius, who divided the two hemispheres between Venus and Proserpine, and represented the Sun as passing alternately from one to the other, and Venus as lamenting when her Adonis had descended to the realm of Proserpine. Proserpine here corresponds with the Venus Tenebricosa of the Egyptians, and it is very probable that the name which Macrobius interprets Venus, had a sense resembling that of Athyri, and connected alternately with each hemisphere, or with the enlightened and dark face of the sky.

It is not improbable that Athyri referred to some relations of Isis and Nephthys, in which these two goddesses were supposed to coalesce, or merely to characterise two forms of the same imaginary personage. In this latter way they are represented in the invocation of Apuleius, who addresses his goddess as "the Queen of Heaven, whether she prefers to be called Ceres or Isis, the original parent of the fruits of the earth; or the celestial Venus who first infused love into the two sexes of animated nature."

Indeed we may learn that some very close relation subsisted between Venus and Isis, from the fact that the former was worshipped under the form of a cow; for we know that the cow was the favourite *avatar* of Isis.*

* Ælian. loc. citat.

It is possible that the metamorphosis of the supernal Isis into Venus the Dark, whose only form was that of a cow, is alluded to in the mythologue of Isis and Osiris, where it is said that Horus, having torn off from the head of Isis her diadem, (her celestial glories) it was replaced by a helm representing the head of a cow or ox.

SECTION VI.

Bouto, or Latona.

The Egyptians worshipped another goddess, whom the Greeks call Latona. At Boutos, near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, there was a very celebrated oracle, dedicated to this goddess, the earliest account of which we have from Hecatæus, who travelled in Egypt before Herodotus, and from whom the latter historian has been accused, probably without reason, of having borrowed a great part of his description of Egypt. "In Boutos," says Herodotus, "stands a temple of Apollo and Diana (Horus and Boubastis); that of Latona, whence the oracles are delivered, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. The most wonderful thing is the shrine of the goddess, which is of one solid stone, having equal sides, each forty cubits in length, &c." He adds, "that near the temple is the island of Chemmis, which the Egyptians affirm to float in a deep and spacious lake. He did not see it move, and was astonished at the relation." In this island is a large temple of Apollo, with

three altars. It brings forth many palm-trees and other plants, some of which are barren, others producing fruit. The Egyptians give the following account of the floating condition of the island: it was once fixed and immovable; when Latona, who has always been reckoned among the eight primary gods, dwelt at Boutos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, as they declare, now floats. This happened when Typhon, eagerly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came hither. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Dian were the offspring of Bacchus (Osiris) and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver.*

Stephanus Byzantinus seems to be the only author who has preserved the Egyptian name of this goddess; for all the other Greek writers term her Leto, or Latona. He says, she was called by the Egyptians, Buto.

The Greek mythologists agree in asserting the physical meaning of Latona to be "Night, or Darkness." Jablonski has cited a passage of Porphyry, and one from Phurnutus, to this effect; and Eusebius has preserved a fragment of Plutarch, in which the

* Herodotus adds, that Æschylus hence derived his story, according to which, Diana was the daughter of Ceres; whereas others made her the daughter of Latona. This account was more consistent with the theogony than the vulgar one. For Dian in the heaven, became Hecate, or Proserpine, in the infernal regions. They were then the same, and both the offspring of Ceres or Isis. Pausanius confirms the observation of Herodotus. See Larcher's Note on Herodotus, in this place.

same conclusion is drawn. Apollo and Dian are more than once called the offspring or nurselings of Night; and it would appear that Sophocles had this idea in view, in the following invocation to the Sun.

Ὃν αἰόλα Νὺξ ἐναριζομένα
τίκτει, κατευνάζει τε φλογιζόμενον
Ἅλιον, ἄλιον αἰτῶ.

Trachin. v. 93.

The sacred animal of Bouto, or Latona, was the Mygale, or Shrew-mouse; for this was the form which she assumed to escape the pursuit of Typhon.* This animal, according to Plutarch, was held sacred by the Egyptians, and was accounted, from its supposed blindness, an emblem of primeval night, or darkness.† The receptacles for the dead were termed, as Hesychius informs us, βουτοι; "bouti." It is possible that this term may have some reference to the goddess who presided over night and the darkness of the tomb.

On the whole, it must be confessed that we are very imperfectly acquainted with the Egyptian Latona; but, from all the obscure hints that can be assembled from ancient authors on this subject, it appears very probable that she was the guardian of night, or of the dark or infernal regions; and if this conclusion

* Antoninus Liberalis. See also Herodotus, ii. cap. 67.

† It is singular that, after citing the foregoing authorities, Jablonski evades the inference which follows, and almost without a shadow of proof, or even ground for conjecture, asserts Bouto, or Latona, to be the *Full Moon*.

be correct, her attributes and character nearly coincide with those of Athyri, or Venus Tenebricosa. At least, it must be allowed that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of the Egyptian mythology, to point out the true distinction between these goddesses.

COMMENTARY ON CHAP. IV. SECT. VI.

Remarks on Jablonski's Opinion respecting Boubastis or Diana, and Bouto or Latona.

Jablonski, as we have before observed, refers several of the Egyptian gods to the different stations of the Sun, and supposes that this luminary was worshipped in different seasons of the year, under the names of Harpocrates, Ammon, Horus, and Hercules. This author has framed a similar hypothesis respecting several Egyptian goddesses, which he refers in like manner to the different phases of the Moon. According to him, Isis represents the Moon in general, as Osiris is the Sun in all the seasons; but the New Moon is Boubastis, the daughter of Isis, as Harpocrates, the offspring of Osiris, was the New or Solstitial Sun. The Full Moon is Bouto, or Latona. To complete this scheme, he should have found some anologies to prove that Tithrambo, or the maleficent Hecate, was the Waning Moon.

It is not without some degree of regret that I remark, that this system, so simple and ingenious, is wholly without support in ancient authorities. Indeed, with respect to the Egyptian goddesses, which is the point we are now concerned with, Jablonski has all authorities completely against him. Boubastis should be the New Moon, and Bouto the Moon at the full, or the Plenilunium. Now we need only refer to the foregoing section on the Egyptian Diana, in order to be clearly convinced that this conjecture is erroneous. Several authors are there quoted, who refer Boubastis to the Full Moon, or mention that phasis of the planet as the aspect peculiarly favourable to child-birth. What is singular is, that Jablonski has himself

adduced most of these passages as if in support of his notion that Diana was simply the New Moon. But all his industry has not enabled him to find one testimony which tends to prove any reference to the Full Moon in Bouto or Latona.

The fact seems to have been, that neither Lucina the goddess of child-birth, nor Hecate the maleficent, referred singly to any one aspect of the planet. We have shown already that they were both called Triple-formed. They were both supposed to exist during all the ages of the Moon. It is impossible in the present day to explain, and probably there was never any good reason why the Moon should be the seat, or the visible form, of so many goddesses, whose functions have little or no relation to each other. We must beware, in our researches into the fictions of mythology, lest we discover more wisdom or more contrivance than ever really existed.

The idea that the Moon exerts an influence favourable to propagation is so strange and absurd, that we are at a loss to imagine how it can have arisen, in any one instance; and it is truly astonishing to find that similar fictions were extended through a great part of the pagan world. Even the barbarous Greenlanders, sprung from the remote Esquimaux of the Labrador coast, believe, as Egede informs us, that the Moon now and then comes down to pay their wives a visit. The latter, in order to prevent the lunar deity from taking any improper familiarities, are careful to spit upon their fingers and rub their bodies before they go to sleep. For a similar reason, the young maids are afraid to stare long at the Moon, imagining that they incur a danger of becoming pregnant. At an eclipse of the Moon, no woman ventures to go abroad.—Egede's Description of Greenland.

SUPPLEMENT TO BOOK I.

OF THE EGYPTIAN GODS, COLLECTIVELY.

We now proceed to make some observations on the Egyptian gods, collectively.

Herodotus mentions three series of gods, which, as he was informed, ruled over Egypt as successive dynasties. The first rank, or the oldest dynasty, contained eight gods; these are termed the most ancient of the Egyptian deities. He mentions the names of only two of them: they are Pan and Latona.

From these eight gods were produced another dynasty, consisting of twelve. Among these, he says, the Egyptians reckoned Hercules.

Of the third rank, who were produced from the twelve, was Bacchus or Osiris.

Thus we find that there were no less than twenty gods, who, according to the statement of Herodotus, were more ancient than Osiris and Isis.

We have already enumerated most of the Egyptian deities of whom any thing remarkable has been recorded by the ancients. Most of those we have mentioned are various forms, as we have seen, of Osiris, Typhon, Isis or Horus, and all these belong to the third rank, or were subsequent to the ogdoad and the dodecade. We find, therefore, no less than twenty places in the Egyptian pantheon, of which we can scarcely fill up two or three.

It is easy to perceive that there must be some error in this enumeration. When we consider how many Greek authors have treated professedly on the Egyptian mythology, and take into the account the frequent notices that are scattered incidentally in the works of other writers, we cannot be induced to believe that the two highest ranks in the theocracy have perished, without leaving even their names behind. Two observations will afford sufficient ground for inferring that this has not been the case.

1. We learn from Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, and some others, to what divinities all the most celebrated and magnificent temples in Egypt were dedicated. They are all distributed among the gods whom we have traced in the works of these authors,* and none remain for the unknown tribe whom Herodotus has placed in reserve.

2. It is agreed among all writers, that all the Egyptian gods were adored in the forms of sacred animals, and not of statues in the human shape: each of them, we are told, had his respective avatar in the brute kingdom. Now we have enumerated the principal sacred animals, and have seen that they are appropriated to the gods, with whom we are acquainted. The twenty older gods of Herodotus have no representatives.

It fortunately happens that Manethon and Diodorus Siculus furnish us with some hints that tend to elucidate this subject.

* There are, indeed, three gods in the Egyptian theocracy, who have not yet been mentioned: these are, Phthas, Cnuphis, and Neitha, or Vulcan, Agathodæmon, and Minerva. They will be described in the following Book.

Manethon began his Egyptian chronology, as preserved by Syncellus, by two dynasties of gods prefixed to the first race of mortal kings who reigned in the Thebaid. These two dynasties occupy the same place as the first and second races of gods mentioned by Herodotus. Manethon calls the elder dynasty gods, and the second demigods. Their names are as follows :

THE GODS WERE,

1. Vulcan
2. The Sun
3. Agathodæmon
4. Saturn
5. Osiris
6. Isis
7. Typhon.

THE DEMIGODS.

8. Horus
9. Mars
10. Anubis
11. Hercules
12. Apollo
13. Ammon
14. Tithoes
15. Sosus
16. Zeus.

If we follow Manethon, and make up the first dynasty, or the ogdoad, of the names of Osiris, Isis, and their correlatives, we shall have no difficulty in filling up the second rank, or the dodecade, with the subordinate gods, including various forms of the primitive or elder series.

Diodorus Siculus has given us a more ample discussion on the Egyptian theogony, and his account seems to place this subject in its true light. Osiris and Isis, Minerva and Ceres, and Vulcan and Oceanus, together with Ammon, constitute, according to Diodorus, the most ancient order of the Egyptian gods. These, says our author, were immortal and

celestial beings. We have seen that they were ideal personages, representing the most striking attributes of nature. In another place Diodorus says the ancient gods of the Egyptians, meaning this same class, included Jupiter, the Sun, Mercury, Apollo, Pan, Eilithyia, and many others.

But besides these, the Egyptians professed, as Diodorus informs us, to have other earthly gods, who were originally mortal men, but, by reason of their wisdom, or the benefits conferred by them on mankind, had obtained deification. These were the first kings of Egypt; and, according to this historian, many of them bore the same names as the celestial gods. He enumerates among them, Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Ammon, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury.

We learn, from this relation, that the gods who are said to have reigned in Egypt, and who are placed by Herodotus and Manethon, as well as by Diodorus, at the head of the dynasties, were not the proper divinities of the Egyptian temples, but were allowed expressly to have been men who bore the same names with the celestialgods. It seems that the Egyptians had a vague tradition, like many other nations, that their most ancient kings were the offspring of the gods. They formed at a later period the chronicles of their monarchy on an artificial system, founded on assumed astronomical epochas, and having determined to fill up a certain space of time with the succession of their dynasties, they found it convenient to assign the earlier ages to the imaginary reign of these hero-gods. They arranged them in dynasties; but as the enumeration was altogether arbitrary, it was formed in various ways, and there are not two writers who give it in the same order.

Of all these writers however, Manethon, as being an Egyptian priest, must be supposed to have possessed the most accurate information; and, as he wrote expressly on this subject, we may give him credit for having been more diligent than either of his rivals, in his compilation of the Egyptian chronology. If, therefore, there was any one method of stating this succession of gods that was more authentic than others, we may conclude it to be that which Manetho has adopted.

We shall, therefore, on the authority of Manethon, reckon Vulcan and Agathodæmon, called in the Egyptian language Phthas, and Cnuphis, as the most ancient of the gods; and next to them we must place Osiris, Isis, and their corelatives. To these we must add, on the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus, Pan, Eilithyia, and Latona. These fill up the ogdoad. The dodecade, or the second order, may be completed by enumerating the gods of an inferior description, such as Ammon, Hercules, Mars, Anubis, Hermes, or Thoth, and the particular forms assumed by the greater gods, as Chemmo, the god of Panopolis, a form of Osiris, Æsculapius, a form of Serapis, and the goddesses who were forms of Isis and Nephthys. We shall thus fill up the catalogue with names, which had in reality temples consecrated to them in Egypt, and had representatives among the sacred animals.

BOOK THE SECOND.

ON THE

PHILOSOPHICAL DOCTRINE, COSMOGONY, &c. OF THE EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

INQUIRY INTO THE ESOTERIC PHILOSOPHY OF THE EGYPTIANS, RESPECTING THE SUPREME DEITY, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD.

In the foregoing outline of the more popular fables and more striking superstitions of the Egyptians, we have found little or no reference to the origin of the visible universe. The gods we are as yet acquainted with, are little more than deifications of the elements, or personifications of the powers of nature most striking to the senses, or most obvious to reflection. It still remains for us to inquire whether the Egyptian philosophy regarded the system of the world as eternal, and its departments and energies as the only divine beings, or recognised, under any emblems, or in any more recondite doctrines, the existence of an invisible creator.

In this instance we shall find it as useful to begin as before by adducing some fragments of Grecian antiquity: for it will be seen that all the representations which the Orphic and Pythagorean philosophy contains with reference to the origin of the world, were derived from the successors of Hermes; and they have been handed down to us in a more perfect form from the Greeks than from the Egyptians.

One of the oldest specimens of the Orphic philosophy now extant is contained in a passage of Hesiod's

theogony, which describes the origin of all things from Chaos. The following is a literal translation of it :

> " Chaos existed before all ; next the wide-bosomed Earth, the ever-secure abode of the immortal host who dwell upon the tops of snow-clad Olympus, and within the dark Tartarus, in the recesses of the spacious ground ; and Eros, or Love, who is the most beauteous of the immortal gods.
>
> " From Chaos sprang Erebus and sable Night ; from Night came Æther and Day, whom she brought forth in the embraces of Erebus."

With Chaos the Orphic poems connect the fiction of an egg, from which they represent the whole organized world to have been developed.

There is a well-known passage in the Birds of Aristophanes,* which contains this conceit. In this comedy the author has turned into ridicule all the most prominent features of the established superstition of his country. We may therefore conjecture that the fables that refer to the cosmogony are not presented to our view in the most favourable shape. The following is a literal translation of it.

> " Chaos existed first, and Night and black Erebus, and spacious Tartarus. And there was neither Earth, nor Air, nor Heaven. Then Night, clothed in sable plumage, in the boundless bosom of Erebus, first brought forth an Egg, spontaneously conceived, from which, in the revolution of ages, sprang the beautiful Eros, or Love, resplendent with golden pinions, swift as the whirlwinds. He fecundated the dark-winged

* Aristophanes: Birds, 694.

Chaos in the vast Tartarus, and gave origin to our kind (viz. to birds,) and first brought us forth to light. The race of immortal beings had no existence, until Eros confounded all the elements. But when discordant elements were mixed, the Heaven, and the Ocean, and the Earth, arose, and the imperishable race of blessed gods."

In these passages the physical doctrine of the Grecian mystics assumes the character of materialism: matter is represented as the original cause, and mind as subsequently produced. But the fragments of the Orphic philosophy appear to contradict each other, with reference to this subject. The fabulous being, Eros, who was engendered in Chaos, is called, in a passage of the Argonautics, the "oldest of beings,"* who reduced into order the parts of the universe; and in an epitome of the Orphic doctrine, contained in the Clementine Recognitions he is described as a masculo-feminine divinity, generated by the turbid elements, which he afterwards separated and arranged. But another representation, directly the reverse of this, is given in the most explicit manner, in more than one place: the whole work of production is attributed to a primitive intelligent being, who is described as giving existence to the masculo-feminine demiurgus. This divinity, who was anterior to the creation, is called Saturn, the oldest of the gods. I shall cite a passage from the Argonautics of Orpheus, in which the cosmogony

* Argonaut. v. 423.

πρεσβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα·
ὅσσα τ' ἔφυσεν ἅπαντα διέκρινε δ' ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου.

displays this form; and this I apprehend to have been its genuine character. The poet proposes to himself to sing.*

ἀρχαίου μὲν πρῶτα Χάους ἀμέγαρτον ἀνάγκην
καὶ Κρόνον, ὃς ἐλόχευσεν ἀπειρεσίοισιν ὑφ' ὁλκοῖς
αἰθέρα, καὶ διφυῆ περιωπέα, κυδρὸν Ἔρωτα
Νυκτὸς ἀειγνήτης πατέρα κλυτόν, ὃν ῥα Φάνητα
ὁπλοτέροι καλέουσι βροτοί, πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη·
Βριμοῦς τ' εὐδυνάτοιο γονὰς, ἠδ' ἔργ' ἀίδηλα
Γηγενέων, οἳ λυγρὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐστάξαντο
σπέρμα γονῆς το πρόσθεν, ὅθεν γένος ἐξεγένοντο
θνητῶν, οἳ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον αἰεν ἔασι.

"First, the vast fatal reign of ancient Chaos, and Kronus, who in the immense regions brought forth æther, and produced the masculo-feminine Eros, splendid and glorious, the great sire of primeval Night, whom later mortals term Phanes, because he first shone forth. Then I sing the birth of powerful Brimo (or Hecate,) and the evil deeds of the Earth-born progeny, (the giants) from whose wounds distilled the showers that gave origin to mortals inhabiting the spacious Earth."†

* Argonaut. v. 12.

† I have thus translated the last lines, with reference to the verses of Ovid, relating to the same fable.

Obruta mole sua cum corpora dira jacerent,
Perfusam multo natorum sanguine terram
Immaduisse ferunt, calidumque animasse cruorem;
Et ne nulla feræ stirpis monumenta manerent
In faciem vertisse hominum.

In another Orphic fragment, preserved by Proclus, in his commentary on the Timæus, Kronus is represented as existing coëvally with ancient Night, and discoursing with her on the creation he meditated.

Μαῖα, θεῶν ὑπάτη, Νύξ ἄμβροτε, πῶς τάδε, φράζε,
πῶς δεῖ μ' ἀθανάτων ἀρχὴν κρατερόφρονα θέσθαι.

"O'erwhelmed in ruin their vast bodies lay;
The Earth, imbued with the warm vital blood
Of her own sons, lest the fierce progeny
Should utterly be lost, changing the forms,
Gave origin to men."

It is surprising that this strange fiction is preserved in more than one system of mythology. The idea of deducing the origin of animals and men from eggs, or seeds, is an obvious conceit, and so well suited to the infant state of philosophy, that we can account for its origin and extension; but this fable, that the human race sprang from the blood of giants, is so wild and uncouth a notion, that it seems wholly unaccountable. Yet we recognise the same fable in the mythology of very remote nations.

In the old Runic fragments, compiled in the Edda, the first being produced, is said to have been a huge giant, called Ymer, or Aurgelmer. The gods, or the sons of Bor, slew Ymer, and from his blood and body sprang mankind, and the world which they inhabit.

In the Vedas we find a fable of exactly the same description. Viraj, the first created being, is a microcosm of the world. He is immolated by the gods on sacred grass; and all the departments of the universe are represented as springing from his various members. The Purusha medha, or allegorical immolation of a human victim, was instituted in remembrance of this scene. See Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindoos: Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 252.

"Immortal Night, supreme nurse of the gods! say how I may wisely ordain the origin of the deathless gods."

Night replies,

αἰθέρι πάντα πέριξ ἀφάτῳ λάβε, τῷδ' ἐνι μέσσῳ
οὐρανὸν, ἐν δέ τε γαῖαν ἀπειριτον, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν.

"Surround all things with boundless æther, and place in the midst, heaven, and the vast earth and the sea."*

Thus far concerning the Orphic Chaos, and the great mundane Egg, which was hatched by the equivocal Eros, the generated demiurgus; who, as we perceive, was sometimes feigned to spring from the elements spontaneously, and at others is represented as the offspring of an intelligent power. We shall now endeavour to trace this cosmogony in the undoubted remains of Egyptian antiquity.

Eusebius† informs us, on the authority of Porphyry, "that the Egyptians acknowledged one intellectual Author or Creator of the World, under the name of Cneph; and that they worshipped him in a statue of human form and dark blue complexion, holding in his hand a girdle and a sceptre, wearing upon his head a royal plume, and thrusting forth an egg out of his mouth." "By the egg thrust out of the mouth of this god was meant the World, and from this Cneph

* See Procl. in Tim. ii. p. 63. 49. Eschenbach. Epigenes Orphicus. v. 79. Gesner. Orphic. p. 377.

† Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 11.

was said to be generated, or produced, another god, whom the Egyptians call Phtha, and the Greeks, Vulcan." Here we have the chaotic egg of the Orphic verses, created or produced by Cneph. This Cneph is mentioned by several other authors. Plutarch* informs us, " that he was worshipped by the inhabitants of the Thebaid, who refused to contribute any part towards the maintenance of the sacred animals, because they acknowledged no mortal god, and adored none but him whom they called Cneph, an uncreated and immortal being." According to Strabo,† the temple of Cnuphis, (doubtless the same as Cneph) was in the island of Elephantine, at the confines of Egypt and Ethiopia. Eusebius‡ also declares, that Cneph was the Phœnician Agathodæmon, or the Good Genius, and under this name we recognise him in the writings of Manethon and other authors.

A more metaphysical account of Cneph is given by Iamblichus, from certain books ascribed to Hermes, which were extant in his time, and are regarded by that writer, who was deeply versed in the Egyptian philosophy, as genuine. He says, " According to another order, Hermes places the god Cneph§ as the ruler of the celestial gods, whom he declares to be a self-intelligent mind, absorbed in his own contemplations. Before this Cneph he places one being without parts, which he terms the first occult power, and denominates Eikton ; " in this the first intelligible principle is contained ; it is worshipped only in

* Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. † Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 562.

‡ Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 10, p. 41.

§ The name is written Emeph in Iamblichus, probably by an error in the copies.

silence."—"After these are other powers which preside over the formation of the visible world. The creative mind which proceeds to the developement of the universe, is called Ammon, Phtha, and Osiris, as it assumes different characters."*

We shall not attempt to ascertain whether Eikton and Cneph are modifications of the same name, as Jablonski asserts; but shall only remark, that this learned author is certainly wrong in confounding Cneph with Phtha, or the Demiurgus. These two beings are clearly distinguished in all the fragments we have of the Egyptian theology. Cneph, Cnuphis, or Ichnuphi, as Jablonski contends that his name should be written, is an eternal, unchangeable being, subsisting by himself, until a certain period, when he is represented as bringing forth the egg, the symbol of the chaotic state of the world, and at the same time giving existence to a secondary being, whom the Egyptians termed Phthas, and the Greeks, Vulcan.

Phthas is evidently the masculo-feminine being of the Orphic philosophy, produced in the chaotic egg, and acting upon its elements. For we have seen that he corresponds in generation and office with the Orphic demiurge; and we are told expressly by Horapollo, that the Egyptians represented Phthas, like the Orphic Jupiter, as "ἀρσενοθηλυς," or masculo-feminine.† It was in his masculine character that this equivocal being was termed Vulcan; and, in bestowing this name upon him, we are told that

* Iamblich. de Mysteriis, sect. viii. cap. 3.

† Horapollo de Hieroglyph. lib. cap. 12.

the Greeks made no reference to any other attribute of Vulcan than his character of artificer or demiurgus.*

But had the Egyptians any appropriate name or representation of this double being in its female form? Jablonski seems to have proved beyond all reasonable doubt that they had, and that the goddess Neith, whom the Greeks call Minerva, and who was worshipped at Sais, was the counterpart of Phthas, or the same being in his feminine character.† This is, indeed, distinctly implied in the following passage of Horapollo:—

Δοκεῖ γαὰρ ἀυτοῖς ὁ κόσμος συνεστάναι ἐκ τε τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ· Επὶ δὲ τῆς Αθηνᾶς τὸν κάνθαρον, ἐπὶ δὲ Ηφαίστου τὸν γῦπα γράφουσιν. Οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι θεῶν παὰ ἀυτοῖς ἀρσενοθήλεις ὑπαρχουσιν:

"For the world seems to the Egyptians to consist of a masculine and feminine nature, and they designate Minerva by the form of a bull, and Vulcan by that of a vulture; for these are the only gods which are represented by the Egyptians as having a double nature, or as being both masculine and feminine."

* Iamblich. de Mysteriis, sect. viii. cap. iii. In the reputed works of Hermes Trismegistus, we find a cosmogony, which seems to be nothing more than the Mosaic Genesis, blended with the wild ideas and physical theory of the Heathen poets. "There was a boundless darkness in the abyss, and water and a subtle intelligent spirit, abiding by divine power in Chaos; then a holy light sprang forth, and the elements were compacted of sand from the humid substance, and all the gods distributed the seminal principles of nature." Serm. Sac. c. iii. Herm. Trismeg. Opera. See Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 17.

† Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. lib. i. cap. 3.

Moreover, the very same attributes are ascribed to the Egyptian Minerva which belong to Phthas, as the author above cited has shown from a passage in Proclus on the Timæus,* and from several other authorities in which she is termed the formative and all-pervading power. To the same purpose is the celebrated inscription in the temple of Minerva at Sais: "I am all that has been, and is, and shall be, and my veil no mortal hath ever penetrated."†

The sum of the Egyptian doctrine on the origin of things seems to be as follows. There existed from all eternity a self-dependent being, whom they term Cneph or Cnuphis, this name importing a good genius or spirit. From him was produced a finite creation, typified under the form of an egg, which represented the chaotic or unformed state of the world. There also proceeded at the same time from Cneph, a masculo-feminine principle, which animated the chaotic mass, and reduced its elements into organised forms. This being, in the masculine character, is Phthas or Vulcan; in the female, Neith or Minerva.

We thus find that the Egyptians, though they worshipped the elements of nature, were not altogether without some idea of a first cause, by whose agency the present universe was called into existence; that they regarded the primitive deity as an eternal, intellectual, and spiritual being.

* Referunt Ægyptii, in Adyto Minervæ Saïticæ, legi hanc inscriptionem foribus insculptam. Quæ sunt, quæ erunt, quæque fuerunt, sum ego. Tunicam meam nemo revelavit. Fructus quem peperi fuit Sol." Procl. in Tim. lib. i. p. 30. The Sun was also the offspring of Vulcan, according to Manethon.

† Plut. Isid. et Osir. Also Proclus in Tim. lib. i. p. 30.

At the same time it must be allowed, that even in their account of the origin of the universe, and the operation of the creator, the Egyptians were not free from the weakness and imperfection which lies at the foundation of paganism: we find even here a mixture of sensual images, borrowed from the material world. The masculo-feminine being produced by Cnuphis, to whom the subsequent developement of the world in the way of generation is attributed, is a striking instance of this description.

Cnuphis, the first or primitive deity of the Egyptian mythology, is sometimes represented as the soul of the world or the universe, which, as we have observed, was regarded as a living whole, and is by Plato called "an animal and a god." "Τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν τῷ Παντὶ τὸν αὐτον νομίζουσιν," says Plutarch, citing the words of Hecatæus. "They consider the primitive deity and the universe as one identical being." We shall have an opportunity hereafter of illustrating this notion.

From this soul of the world all subordinate souls originally emanated. Such, as Eusebius assures us, was the ancient doctrine of the Hermaic books; and this testimony is abundantly confirmed, as we shall find, by other writers.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ALTERNATE DESTRUCTIONS AND RENOVATIONS OF THE WORLD.

Although the Egyptian priests, and the Greek philosophers who derived their doctrines from Egyptian schools, spoke so decidedly respecting the origin of the world from the agency of an intelligent, spiritual, and eternal Being, there were other parts of their philosophy which seem to render it difficult to determine, whether they believed that the system of nature ever had a beginning, properly so called. The world is represented in some of their philosophical reveries, as subject to occasional destructions and renovations, which succeed each other at distant intervals in a perpetual vicissitude. At the end of each great period the whole assemblage of celestial phænomena, which are regarded as the influential causes of all changes in the sublunary world, being restored to the same initial order, and proceeding in the same catenation as before, the whole series of events that depend upon them follow in their former connexion of place and time. The same individual men are doomed to be born again, and perform the same actions as before; the same arts are to be invented, and the same cities built and destroyed.

Alter erit tunc Tiphys et altera quæ vehat Argo
Dilectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella,
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.*

* Virg. Eclog. 4.

Whether this series of repeated creations and catastrophes ever had a beginning, or was regarded as having existed for ever—whether there was any first link to the chain, we shall inquire, after stating the most important circumstances in this fable.

This dogma appears to have been common to several of the early sects of philosophers in Greece.* We find traces of it in the remains of Orpheus; and we shall show that there is sufficient reason to conclude that the Greeks derived it from the Egyptians. It was a favourite doctrine of the Stoics, and held so prominent a place in their discourses on the nature of the world, and on fate, that it came to be regarded as one of the peculiar tenets of that school. It is chiefly unfolded in their writings, and we are indebted to them for most of our information concerning this curious part of ancient philosophy.

The catastrophes destined at certain times to destroy the world are, according to the Stoics, of two kinds: one is the lesser, or partial destruction; the other a more perfect dissolution. The cataclysm or destruction by deluge sweeps away the whole human race, and annihilates all the animal and vegetable productions of nature; the ecpyrosis, or conflagration of the world, dissolves the globe itself, and involves the very elements and the frame of the universe.

1. Seneca has given us a magnificent account of the destruction by deluge. "Inundationibus, *quidquid*

* See particularly Lipsius de Physiologia Stoicorum, Dissert. 2; from which most of what has been said by late writers on this subject seems to have been borrowed.

habitatur (vetustas) obducet; necabitque omne animal, orbe submerso." * "Decay shall involve the whole inhabited world, and shall destroy every animated being; the globe itself being submerged in the deep." He says in another place, "Ergo quandoque erit terminus rebus humanis, cum partes terræ interire debuerint, abolerive funditus totæ, ut de integro totæ rudes innoxiæque generentur, nec supersit in deteriora magister." "Tunc exsilient sub montibus flumina ipsosque impetu quatient." "Omnes novum mare fabulas obruet." "Peribunt tot nomina; Caspium, et Rubrum mare." "Peribit omne discrimen." "Confundetur quidquid in suas partes natura digessit."

"A term will some time be set to the career of human affairs, when all the productions of the earth are fated to perish and to become wholly extinct, in order that all may be brought forth anew, simple, and innocent; and without any of the old race surviving to show the example of evil. At that era streams shall break forth under the mountains, and shall shake them from their foundations. New oceans shall obliterate all local traditions. The Red and the Caspian Sea, and other celebrated names, shall be heard of no more. All distinctions shall be lost, and all the elements which Nature has distributed into their several provinces shall be confounded."

But the frame of the world will not be destroyed by the cataclysm. "Non semper ea licentia undis erit: sed peracto exitio generis humani extinctisque pariter feris, in quarum hominum ingenia transierant,

* Consolat. ad Marciam. capite ultimo.

iterum aquas terra sorbebit; natura pelagus stare, aut inter terminos suos furere coget: et rejectus è nostris sedibus, in sua secreta pelletur Oceanus: antiquus ordo revocabitur: omne ex integro animal generabitur." *

2. But a far more complete destruction awaits the universe, when the hour of the destined conflagration arrives. At this period the gods themselves are doomed to perish. "Mundo minantur interitum," says the philosopher above quoted, "et hoc universum quod omnia divina humanaque complectitur, si fas putas credere, dies aliquis dissipabit, et in confusionem veterem tenebrasque demerget."† Ovid has thus described the catastrophe.

Esse quoque in Fatis reminiscitur affore tempus
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat et mundi moles operosa laboret.‡

"He knows a time will come, in Fate's decree,
When ocean, earth, and heaven's high palaces
Are doom'd to blaze; and the whole universe
Labour in vain with all-subduing fires."

And Seneca, the tragedian:

Cœli regia concidet
Certos atque obitus trahet,
Atque omnes pariter deos
Perdet Mors aliqua et Chaos. ||

* Quæst. Naturalium. lib. iii. cap. 29.
† De Consolat. ad Polyb. cap. 20.
‡ Metamorph. lib. i. vers. 256.
|| Seneca Tragœd. Herc. Oct. v. 1112.

"The palace of heaven shall fall,
And meet its destined destruction;
And all the gods alike
Shall be the prey of Death and Chaos."

By this catastrophe all created beings are to be destroyed, or resolved into the uncreated essence of the divinity. Plutarch makes the Stoic Cleanthes declare that the "Moon, the Stars, and the Sun, will perish, and that the celestial æther, which, according to the Stoics, was the substance of the deity, will convert all things into its own nature, or assimilate them to itself.* And Seneca compares the self-confidence of the philosopher to the insulated happiness of Jupiter, who, after the world has melted away, and the gods are resolved into one essence, when the operations of nature cease, withdraws himself for a while into his own thoughts, and reposes in the contemplation of his own perfections.†

The same thing was affirmed by Chrysippus, Zeno, and Cleanthes; and we find passages similar to the foregoing cited by Cicero,‡ Numenius,‖ Philo Judæus,§ and many other authors.

We have only to make two or three further observations on the circumstances connected with these fables, as we find them in the writings of the Greek philosophers and poets.

* Plut. de Comm. Notion.

† "Qualis est Iovis cum resoluto mundo, et diis in unum confusis, paullisper, cessante naturrâ, acquiescit sibi, cogitationibus suis traditus."—Seneca, Epistol. 9.

‡ Cicero de Nat. Deorum. lib. ii.

‖ Numen. apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. xv. p. 820.

§ Phil. Jud. de Immortalitate Mundi.

1. The returns of these catastrophes were connected with certain astronomical periods. Aristocles, quoted by Eusebius, says, "κατά τινας εἱμαρμένας καὶ ὡρισμένους χρόνους ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὸν σύμπαντα κοσμον."* "That the whole world is consumed by fire after certain fated and defined intervals." And Numenius, in a passage cited by the same author, writes to the same effect. "Οὐ γὰρ ἐπι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου, κατὰ τὰς περιόδους τὰς μεγίστας γενομένης φθορᾶς, κυρίως περιλαμβάνουσιν τῆν φθορὰν, οἱ τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀνάλυσιν τῶν ὅλων δογματίζοντες, ἥν δὴ καλοῦσιν ἐκπύρωσιν."† "Those who teach the dogma, that all things are to be resolved into fire, in what they call the Ecpyrosis, do not properly apply the term destruction to the catastrophe which is doomed to happen to the world at certain great intervals of time."

Censorinus connects the catastrophe with the periods of the annus magnus, or great year, a cycle composed of the revolutions of the sun, moon, and planets; and which terminates when these bodies return together to the same sign, whence they were supposed at some remote epoch to have set out.‡ Julius Firmicus estimates the length of this period at 300,000 years; after which, he says, the apocatastatis, or renovation of things, was supposed to happen. Orpheus is said to have assigned it a somewhat shorter duration; but Cassander lengthened it

* Aristocles apud Euseb.

† Numenius apud Euseb.

‡ Censorinus de Die Natali.

‖ Censorinus mentions the opinion of Orpheus and Cassander. "Orphei, ad centum millia viginti" (æstimantis) "Cassandri ad tricies sexies centena millia." Ibid.

to 360,000 years.‖ All writers, however, connected the catastrophe with the revolution of the annus magnus, or great cycle.

2. The Stoics were firmly persuaded that human nature was doomed to become in every succeeding age more corrupt; and that the conclusion of this career of guilt and misery was a catrastophe that swept off from the face of the earth its polluted inhabitants, and prepared a place for a new generation of men, virtuous and innocent, whose posterity after many ages were predestined to undergo the same unhappy debasement, and to entail upon themselves a similar destruction.* "After the world has been cleared of its inhabitants, the ocean," says Seneca, "shall be driven back to its own retreats, the ancient order of things shall be recalled, every tribe of animals shall be generated anew, and the earth shall behold men devoid of guilt, and born under better auspices. But the innocence of this race shall only continue while they are new from the hands of Nature. Vice and folly will soon creep in; for virtue is with difficulty attained, and requires a guide and a controuling hand; but vices are learnt without the aid of instruction." Passages of a similar import are to be found in Cicero and Plutarch.†

* "In sua secreta pelletur Oceanus: antiquus ordo revocabitur. Omne ex integro animal generabitur, dabiturque terris homo inscius scelerum, et melioribus auspiciis natus. Sed illis quoque innocentia non durabit, nisi dum novi sunt. Cito nequitia subrepet: virtus difficilis inventu est, rectorem ducemque desiderat: etiam sine magistro vitia discuntur."—Q. Nat. 3. c. 29.

† Plut. de Comm. Notion.

Here we trace the fundamental idea of the fiction of the golden, silver, and iron ages, so celebrated among the poets of antiquity.

3. The succession of these catastrophes, and the relation of the cataclysm to the conflagration, seems not to have been accurately defined. We find contradictory opinions respecting it. According to some, the inundation succeeds immediately to the conflagration:* others reverse the order. Aristotle suggested an idea which appears to have led to the notion that they alternated with each other. Adverting to the fable of the reiterated flood, he says, "It is probable that at a certain period of the great year a sort of winter takes place, when water abounds, as in the annual revolution of the seasons."† This passage, as Lipsius has observed, seems to have been amplified by Censorinus, who quotes it as Aristotle's opinion, "that the inundation constitutes the winter of the great year, or astronomical cycle, while the conflagration or destruction by fire is the summer, or period of greatest heat." Accordingly he supposes them to alternate; and this notion has been adopted by several other writers.‡ But perhaps there was originally no connection between these singular fables.

* Jul. Firmic. loc. citat. † Meteor. lib. i. cap. ult.

‡ "Est præterea annus," says Censorinus, "quem Aristoteles maximum potius quam magnum appellat, quem Solis et Lunæ vagarumque Stellarum orbes conficiunt cum ad idem signum, ubi quondam simul fuerant unà revertuntur. Cujus anni hiems summa est Cataclysmus, quam nostri diluvionem vocant; æstas autem Ecpyrosis quod est mundi incendium. Nam his alternis temporibus mundus tum exignescere, tum exaquescere videtur.—Censorin. de Die Nat. Lipsius ubi supra.

They appear to have been derived from distinct traditions.

4. We might almost rest satisfied that these fables were derived directly or indirectly from Egypt, even if we had no positive assurance that such dogmas were maintained by the priests of that country. Several considerations would render that conclusion extremely probable.

In the first place, we are well assured that the doctrine of successive destructions and renovations of the world was no new invention of the Stoics, but was common to them and all the older sects of philosophers among the Greeks, who are known to have derived their tenets from the Egyptian schools.* We are expressly assured by Plutarch,† that it formed a part of the physical doctrines of Orpheus, or pervaded those fragments of antiquity which were handed down as the verses of that poet, though probably composed by various mystics or hierophants in the early and fabulous ages of Greece. We even find the period of time mentioned, which Orpheus is said to have assigned for the duration of each of his successive worlds.‡

The same dogma prevailed in the Ionic school; for Anaximander, the Milesian, taught that the source or principle of all things was infinitude; whence infinite worlds arose, and into which they were resolved.‖

* Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. v.

† Plut. de Defectu Oraculorum, cap. 12.

‡ Censorin. ubi supra.

‖ Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 3.

In the Italian school of Pythagoras, we find the fable of conflagrations, which at stated intervals resolve all beings into the primeval fire. Plutarch, who is quoted by Eusebius,* and Clemens, affirm that Heraclitus and Hippasus of Metapontum held the doctrine of the ecpyrosis or dissolution of the world by fire, and founded on this tenet a system of physical theology. And, according to Cicero, it was from the former of these philosophers that Zeno adopted this doctrine as a foundation for the system of the Stoics.†

Now we are assured that the leading tenets of all these three systems of philosophy, viz. the Orphic, Pythagorean, and Ionic, were derived from Egypt; and although we are at liberty to suppose that they received some innovations from those who introduced them into Greece, still we must conclude that such dogmas as were common to all the three emanated from the common source, which was the schools of Memphis and Heliopolis.‡

But we are not left in doubt upon this subject; for Plato assures us that the Egyptian priests held that

* Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. xiv. cap. 14. Clemens Alex. Cohortatio ad Gentes, cap. 5.

† Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 14.

‡ There is a passage in the Asclepian Dialogue, ascribed to Hermes, containing this doctrine. "Tunc ille dominus et pater deus, primipotens et unus gubernator mundi, intuens in mores factaque hominum, voluntate suâ (quæ est Dei benignitas) vitiis resistens, et corruptelæ errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel alluvione diluens, vel igne consumens, ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit."—Dialog. Asclep. apud Hermetis Trismegisti Op. p. 607.

the world is subject to occasional deluges and conflagrations, by which the gods arrest the career of human wickedness, and purify the earth from guilt.* Hence the Egyptians pretended that the story of Phaëthon was founded on fact. It is true that the Egyptian priest, who is introduced by Plato as discoursing with Solon on this subject, is made to except his own country from these calamities. But this pretence, if it were really offered, may be imputed to the desire of extolling the antiquity of his nation.

We learn from Syncellus and other writers, that the Egyptian astronomers made frequent use of long periods or cycles; and that the hypothesis of the great year, or portion of time in which the planets were supposed to return together to the same sign, originated with them. This is a part of the same scheme, and, together with the belief in the influence of the celestial movements upon sublunary affairs, lays the foundation on which the system of secular repetitions has been raised, and from which indeed it necessarily results.

On the whole, it seems that we may regard the doctrine of successive periods of time terminated by a catastrophe by water or fire, a partial or universal destruction, as a dogma of Egyptian origin: at least, that we may conclude it to have been derived by the Greeks from Egypt.

‡ Plato in Timæo, prope initium.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE FOREGOING FABLE.

We are not able to illustrate in a satisfactory manner the history of the doctrine which forms the argument of the foregoing chapter, by the aid of the Greek philosophers, who derived this tenet immediately from Egypt. Fortunately, however, for the history of mythology, the same dogma may be traced in the antiquities of several nations, who, if they obtained it not from Egypt, certainly derived it from some common source; hence, by comparing the various forms in which we find it, we are led to some conclusions respecting its origin, and the ideas with which it was connected in the cosmology of the Egyptians.

Of the two catastrophes which are fated to return in alternation and destroy the world, or at least its inhabitants, the cataclysm, or destruction by water, is by far the most celebrated fiction. The ancient traditions of many nations record circumstantially the history of one or more of these destructions. They are well known to form a prominent feature in the wild fictions of the Hindoos. The first Purana contains an account of a destruction by deluge, from which a few persons escaped in a vessel, being miraculously preserved by Vishnu, who appeared incarnate in the shape of a fish.* This occasion presented the first of the ten avatars of Vishnu. The second and

* This story forms the subject of the first Purana. Sir W.

third, the Courma and Varaha, or the Tortoise and Boar incarnations, contain very similar narratives, and appear to be nothing else than varied accounts of the same event.

In the old mythological remains of the Chaldeans, compiled by Berosus, Abydenus, and Polyhistor, we find a narrative of the destruction of the world by water, on which occasion a single family were preserved in an ark, having been forewarned of the calamity by the gods. The same fragments contain an account of various services rendered to mankind by the fish-god Oannes.* It is manifest that this story is the Hindoo fable of the Fish Avatar, under a somewhat varied guise.

It is not my design at present to enter at length into an account of the avatars of the Hindoo gods. The stories, however, just referred to, are important to us, as they unfold the origin of the fable we have under consideration. No person who reads the legends of the Fish Avatar, and the appearance of Oannes and the flood of Xisuthrus, will doubt for a moment that they are both to be referred to the same origin as the Mosaic history of the deluge. The Chaldean story is nearest to this narrative, though adorned with the garb of mythology: it has gained much, as might be expected, in travelling further eastward.

We cannot account for the origin of this fable,

Jones has translated the whole narrative from the Bhagavat.—See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 230.

* See Syncelli Chronographia, p. 30. Suidas voce Nannacos. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 12.

without supposing that it was founded on an historical record of such a catastrophe.* There was, indeed scarcely any ancient people, who were without some tradition of this nature.

The course of mundane affairs being imagined to depend on the influence of the celestial phænomena, and these again supposed to go through a certain round, subject to exact repetitions at the end of cycles of greater or less extent, the deluge, which once really happened, was reiterated in ancient stories, and expected to return.

But these more partial destructions were not the only or the greatest catastrophes the world was expected to undergo. Brahma, the creator of the world, sprang from the essence of the eternal Brahme, the incomprehensible spirit. Brahma is not immortal, though very long-lived. The term of his existence is measured by five great Calpas, or five centuries of Brahma's years; each of which years comprehends a prodigious lapse of ages. Every Calpa, except the first, is preceded by a general flood; after which the renovation takes place. During the deluge Brahma reposes in slumber on the folds of the great serpent Ananda.

* This, indeed, cannot be imagined with respect to the conflagration. But the final and total destruction of the world was not regarded as an event which had yet happened, but as still future. It comes to us under the character of a prophecy of what is to take place in ages yet unborn. Such, as we shall see presently, is the Maha Pralaya, or great consummation. The floods, or lesser Pralayas, of which several have already happened, have very different pretensions to an historical origin, since they are ranked among past events.

The Calpa is the great anomalistic period of the Hindoo astronomers; at the termination of which all the heavenly bodies are supposed to return to a line of conjunction, and to occupy the same position whence they are believed to have set out.

Each of the four first Calpas is closed by the flood or lesser catastrophe. But a more awful doom yet awaits the world, when not only the human and all the animated inhabitants, but the solid globe itself is to be consumed or devoured. At the Maha Pralaya, which happens at the end of the last Calpa, the whole creation, nay, the host of gods themselves, are involved in one common destruction.* This is evidently the fiery destruction, or Ecpyrosis, of the Greek philosophers, which the ethereal intelligence is alone destined to survive.

The great antiquity of this fiction is placed in a still stronger point of view, if we take into consideration the fact, that it forms the foundation of the old Runic mythology and the sagas of the Scandinavians, and is even recognised in the plainest and most undoubted manner in the fables of the Aztecs, or ancient Mexicans.

We shall now return to the Egyptian mythology, and apply the observations which result from this remote digression.

* Maha Kala holding in his hands the roll of fate, and a scimitar to execute his office, devours first men and cities, the globe itself, and the whole universe. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva then fall into his jaws; and Kala will finally destroy himself, and nothing will remain but Brahme, the self-existing eternal spirit, into whose incomprehensible essence all beings are to be resolved.

Without assuming that there is any further affinity between the Indian and Egyptian fables, we may consider it as certain, that this fiction of repeated destructions and renovations, which we have found so widely spread, has the same origin in both systems. We shall find hereafter that the cosmogony of the Indians differed in few essential points from the Egyptian. But, without referring to any thing beyond the present subject, it is sufficient to compare the stories which the Stoics disseminated in Greece respecting the catastrophes of the world, and the circumstances that accompany them, in order to arrive with certainty at the foregoing inference. The period of each world's duration was fixed in both schemes by the revolution of sidereal cycles. This destruction was preceded in both by phænomena of decay in the elements and in the moral world. Guilt and misery increased towards the termination of each æra; till at length the gods no longer bore with the wickedness of men, and a shock of the elements, or a deluge, overwhelmed them; after which calamity, Astrea again descended on the earth, and renewed the golden age. With all these circumstances tending to connect them, we cannot think it unfair to infer, that the Egyptian tradition, the basis of the Stoical and Orphic fiction, was the same in its origin with the Indian fable of the pralayas.

Hence we may conclude that the series of repeated destructions and renovations was not eternal, but that that the Egyptians, as well as the eastern cosmologists, regarded the universe as having had a beginning, and as destined, at some future period, to reach its termination.

CHAPTER III.

OPINIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS RESPECTING THE FATE OF THE DEAD—MOTIVES FOR EMBALMING BODIES—ULTIMATE ALLOTMENT OF THE SOUL—EMANATION FROM, AND REFUSION INTO THE DEITY.

It has often been observed, that the practice of embalming the dead, and preserving them with so much care and in so costly a manner, seems to indicate some peculiarity in the opinions of the Egyptian philosophers, respecting the fate of the soul. On this subject we have no precise and satisfactory information. The ancient writers have left us only a few obscure hints, which afford little more than a foundation for conjectures.

A learned and ingenious author supposes that the Egyptians embalmed their dead for the sake of maintaining the connection between the soul and the body, and preventing the former from transmigrating. "They were persuaded," he says, "that death did not separate the soul from the body, but that it remained attached to the mummy as long as the latter should continue entire. It was from this idea that these people took so many precautions to preserve their carcases from corruption, and to secure them from all accidents that might occasion their destruction. Hence the care they gave themselves, and the expenses they underwent, to embalm the dead and deposit them in places secured from all insult. The

principal attention of the Egyptians was turned to this object. Thus they regarded their palaces and houses as inns, or receptacles calculated for a transient abode, and gave to their tombs the name of eternal habitations.*

The President de Goguet appears to have had no other authority for this statement, than a remark of Servius, the Commentator on Virgil, who observes, "that the wise Egyptians took care to embalm their bodies, and deposit them in catacombs, in order that the soul might be preserved for a long time in connection with the body, and might not soon be alienated; while the Romans, with an opposite design, committed the remains of their dead to the funeral pile, intending that the vital spark might immediately be restored to the general element, or return to its pristine nature."†

This idea is a very ingenious one; but, from the manner in which Servius states it, it may well be doubted whether he had any better ground for his assertion than a specious conjecture; and if so, the opinion of the French antiquarian deserves equal credit with that of the Roman critic.

There is a well-known passage in the Book of Ecclesiastes, which, if we understand it in the sense assigned to it by a late author, affords indirectly some

* On the Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, by the President de Goguet, translated from the French, vol. iii. p. 68.

† Ægyptii periti sapientiæ condita diutius reservant corpora, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, et corpori sit obnoxia, nec cito ad alia transeat. Romani contra faciebant, comburentes cadavera ut statim anima in generalitatem, id est in suam rediret naturam. Servius ad Æneid. lib. iii. v. 67.

support to the conjecture of Servius. I allude to Solomon's celebrated picture of old age.* The passage is as follows. "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh; when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them." Then follows a description of the successive signs of decay and sickness, ending with death, "when man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets." The succeeding verses are supposed, by the ingenious Mr. Harmer, to refer to the subsequent mouldering away of the mummy and destruction of the catacomb. "When this last decay shall be complete, when the silver cord, the vestment of the corse, shall be loosed, and the golden bowl broken, and the pitcher broken at the fountain, and the wheel at the cistern; then," it is added, "shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it."

If the Hebrews, in the time of Solomon, really entertained any such notion as this respecting the fate of the soul, they probably derived it from the Egyptians, and this circumstance would strongly confirm the idea of Servius. It must, however, be observed, that the foregoing passage in Ecclesiastes admits of a clear and satisfactory explanation, without referring to any such superstitious opinion, and that several very doubtful points require to be proved, before we can be authorised in adopting the conclusion of Mr. Harmer.†

* Ecclesiastes, chap. xii. See Harmer's Observations on various Passages of Scripture, chap. viii. sect. 14.

† The explanation given by Dr. Mead, in his Medica Sacra, is far more simple, and will probably be preferred by most

It has been further conjectured by a learned and judicious traveller, that the Egyptians caused their bodies to be embalmed, and placed in magnificent tombs, whose massive structure seemed calculated to defy the power of man and of the elements, in the hope of slumbering out, undisturbed, the fated period of three thousand years; after which they perhaps believed that the soul would return to animate the same body.*

Thus the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, in its strictest sense, is imputed to this people. This idea affords an explanation of the anxiety which they have displayed for the protection of their mortal remains against decay, and the expenses lavished by their kings on the erection of the pyramids, and the decorating of their catacombs. But if so remarkable a doctrine was really prevalent among the Egyptians, we must suppose that they took extraordinary care to conceal it, since not the slightest hint respecting it has reached our times. Herodotus indeed mentions transmigration as the common lot of all souls whatsoever.† "The Egyptians," says that historian, "affirm that Bacchus and Ceres (by which names he means Serapis and Isis) preside over the regions below; and the same people are the first who advanced the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal, and after the death of the body passes into some other animal,

persons of judgment who take the trouble to compare it with Mr. Harmer's. See Dr. Adam Clarke's Note on Harmer, vol. iii. p. 206.

* Ægyptiaca, by W. Hamilton, Esq.

† Herod. lib. ii. c. 23.

which is born opportunely to receive it. They say that it transmigrates through all the creatures which inhabit the sea and the land, and through all winged animals; and having performed this circuit in the space of three thousand years, enters again into a human body." He adds, "that some of the Greeks, both in earlier and later times, propounded this doctrine, as if it were their own, whose names he knew, but refrained from mentioning."

It is probable that Herodotus chiefly alluded in this place to Pythagoras,* who is well known to have been initiated in the secret doctrines of the Egyptians, and to have copied their customs in most respects very closely. But the accounts we have respecting the doctrine of Pythagoras are by no means favourable to the opinion that his instructors, the Egyptian priests, believed in the resurrection of the body; nor does it allow us to suppose they expected, by embalming and preserving the dead, to secure the soul from the miseries of transmigration. Pythagoras even pretended that his own soul had transmigrated, and had animated successively different bodies.

"Ev'n I, who these mysterious truths declare,
Was once Euphorbus at the Trojan war:
My name and lineage I remember well,
And how in fight by Sparta's king I fell.

* Pherecydes and Pythagoras are allowed to have studied the Egyptian philosophy in the sacerdotal colleges, before the invasion of that country by the Persians, while yet entire and unadulterated by foreign intercourse. See Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ.

In Argive Juno's fane I late beheld
My buckler hung on high, and own'd my shield.
This death, so call'd, is but old matter drest
In some new figure and a varied vest;
Thus all things are but alter'd—nothing dies,
And here and there th' embodied spirit flies,
By time, or force, or sickness dispossest,
And lodges where it lights, in man or beast!
Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,
And actuates them according to their kind;
From tenement to tenement is toss'd.
The soul is still the same; the figure lost;
And, as the softened wax new seals receives,
This face assumes and that impression leaves,
Now call'd by one, now by another name;
The form is only changed; the wax the same;
So death, so call'd, can but the form deface,
Th' immortal soul flies out in empty space,
To seek her fortune in some other place."*

On the whole, it appears to me much more probable that the views with which the Egyptians embalmed their bodies were more akin to those which rendered the Greeks and Romans so anxious to perform the usual rites of sepulture to their departed warriors, namely, an idea that these solemnities expedited the journey of the soul to the appointed region, where it was to receive judgment for its former deeds, and to have its future doom fixed accordingly. This seems to be implied by the prayer that is said to have been uttered by the embalmer in the name of the deceased, "entreating the divine powers to receive his soul into the region of the gods."† This address has been

* Ovid Metamorph. lib. xv. v. 158, Dryden's translation.

† Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 10.

preserved by Porphyry. As the passage containing it is curious, and tends to throw light on the religious ideas of the Egyptians, I shall insert a translation of the whole of it.

"When those who have the care of the dead proceed to embalm the body of any person of respectable rank, they first take out the contents of the belly, and place them in a separate vessel. After the other rites for the dead have been performed, one of the embalmers, laying his hand on the vessel, addressing the Sun, utters on behalf of the deceased the following prayer, which Euphantus has translated from the original language into the Greek: 'O thou Sun, our lord, and all ye gods who are the givers of life to men! accept me, and receive me into the mansions of the eternal gods; for I have worshipped piously, while I have lived in this world, those divinities whom my parents taught me to adore. I have ever honoured those parents who gave origin to my body and of other men I have neither killed any, nor robbed them of their treasure, nor inflicted upon them any grievous evil; but if I have done any thing injurious to my own life, either by eating or drinking any thing unlawfully, this offence has not been committed by me, but by what is contained in this chest;' meaning the intestines in the vessel, which is then thrown into the river. The body is afterwards regarded as pure, this apology having been made for its offences, and the embalmer prepares it according to the appointed rites." The authenticity of this account is confirmed by Plutarch.*

* Plut. Op. tom. ii. p. 996, p. 159.

That the Egyptians believed in the existence of a peculiar mansion appropriated to the dead, we learn from the passage cited above from Herodotus, and from Plutarch, who informs us "that they gave the name of Amenthes to that subterranean region, whither they imagined the souls of those who died to go after their decease; a name which signifies "*the receiver and giver.*"* From this designation it would appear that the region of the dead was a temporary receptacle whither the soul resorted immediately after quitting the body, and where it remained for a time, until it was sent back to enter again a mortal body, whether of a man or of some lower animal; and thus far the doctrine of the Egyptians differs not essentially from the Italian or Pythagorean dogma, which Virgil, the most learned poet of antiquity, has set forth in the following beautiful lines, in connection with the ancient doctrine concerning the emanation of souls from the essence of the deity, or the spirit of the universe.

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo
Seminibus: quantùm non noxia corpora tardant,
Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque; dolent gaudentque; neque auras
Respiciunt, clausæ tenebris et carcere cæco.
Quin et supremo cùm lumine vita reliquit,

* Plut. de Isid. et Osir. cap. 29.

Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditùs omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitùsque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
Quisque suos patimur manes. Exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, et pauci læta arva tenemus:
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atque auraï simplicis ignem.
Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursùs et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

" Know, first, that heav'n, and earth's compacted frame,
And flowing waters, and the starry flame,
And both the radiant lights, one common soul
Inspires and feeds—and animates the whole.
This active mind, infused through all the space,
Unites and mingles with the mighty mass.
Hence men and beasts the breath of life obtain,
And birds of air and monsters of the main.
Th' ethereal vigour is in all the same;
And ev'ry soul is fill'd with equal flame—
As much as earthy limbs, and gross allay
Of mortal members subject to decay,
Blunt not the beams of heaven and edge of day.
From this coarse mixture of terrestrial parts,
Desire and fear by turns possess their hearts,
And grief, and joy: nor can the grov'ling mind,
In the dark dungeon of the limbs confined,
Assert the native skies, or own its heavenly kind:
Nor death itself can wholly wash their stains;
But long-contracted filth even in the soul remains.

The reliques of inveterate vice they wear;
And spots of sin obscene in every face appear.
For this are various penances enjoin'd;
And some are hung to bleach upon the wind,
Some plunged in waters, others purged in fires,
Till all the dregs are drain'd, and all the rust expires.
All have their manes, and those manes bear:
The few, so cleansed, to these abodes repair,
And breathe, in ample fields, the soft Elysian air.
Then are they happy, when by length of time
The scurf is worn away, of each committed crime;
No speck is left of their habitual stains;
But the pure ether of the soul remains.
But, when a thousand rolling years are past
(So long their punishments and penance last),
Whole droves of minds are, by the driving god,
Compell'd to drink the deep Lethæan flood,
In large forgetful draughts to steep the cares
Of their past labours and their irksome years,
That, unremembering of its former pain,
The soul may suffer mortal flesh again."

This appears nearly to contain the sum of the doctrine of the Egyptians respecting the soul. Amenthes, or the realm of the dead, over which Osiris presided in his infernal character,* received the souls for a time, and sent them forth again to repeat the round of transmigration.

It remains to be inquired whether this rotation was eternal. Did the soul continue for ever to transmigrate from man to the inferior animals, and from the inferior animals again to man, or was there a limit to

* In Plate I. which is taken from the copy of an Egyptian manuscript on Papyrus, the infernal judgment of Sarapis seems

this predestined alternation? We are not directly informed what the Egyptians believed on this subject, but we learn by inference that they set a limit to the metempsychosis.

It appears that transmigration was regarded by all the ancient philosophers, who acknowledged this dogma, as a sort of purgatorial chastisement inflicted on the soul, as the consequence of previous delinquencies. The Pythagoreans taught that there were various orders of beings superior to men, whose souls had emanated from the deity.* The souls of the superior orders were condemned to enter into human bodies, and undergo on earth purgatorial afflictions. Human life itself was regarded as a state of penal degradation ;† but the humiliation of the soul did not end here: from man it descended to the meanest brutes, and, according to some, into plants,‡ until, having gone through a career of punishment proportioned to its guilt, it again began to ascend and return towards the higher orders of living nature. This kind of chastisement is always spoken of as temporary, or finite, and hence it would appear that

to be represented. The presiding god sits in the office of judge ; and Thoth, distinguished by the head of the Ibis, holds the tablet, which seems to contain a testimony respecting the actions of the dead ; while Anoubis, or Mercury the conductor, holds the scales, and seems prepared to execute the sentence.

* Plutarch de Placit. Philos. i. cap. 8.

† See a fragment of Cicero, preserved by St. Augustin, in his fourth book against Pelagius.

‡ Diog. Laert. Vit. Empedoclis. Ælian. de Animal. lib. xii. cap. 7.

the transmigration of souls must have had its limitation.*

It appears from Pindar, that the soul was doomed to make this circuit at least thrice, before it escaped from the lower world, and became worthy to obtain entrance into the regions of blessed spirits.†

> But they who, in true virtue strong,
> The third purgation can endure,
> And keep their minds from fraudful wrong
> And guilt's contagion pure;
> They through the starry paths of Jove,
> To Saturn's blissful seat remove;
> Where fragrant breezes, vernal airs,
> Sweet children of the main,
> Purge the blest island from corroding cares;
> And fan the bosom of each verdant plain,
> Whose fertile soil immortal fruitage bears;
> Trees, from whose flaming branches flow,
> Arrayed in golden bloom, refulgent beams;
> And flowers of golden hue, that blow
> On the fresh borders of their parent streams.
> These by the blest, in solemn triumph worn,
> Their unpolluted hands and clustering locks adorn.
> Such is the righteous will, the high behest
> Of Rhadamanthus, ruler of the Blest.

It would be an interesting inquiry, whether the Egyptians or any of the ancient fabulists believed in the eternal existence of the soul. Cicero,

* In the Clavis of Hermes, a book which, according to Eusebius, is an epitome of the lost books entitled Genica, the transmigration of souls into animals, is mentioned as a chastisement of sins. "ὡς καταδικη ψυχῆς κάκης."

† Pindar. Od. Olymp. ii. West's translation.

and some other philosophers, deduced this dogma from the supposed indecerptibility of a being without parts, and from the incorruptibility of an etherial spirit; but it does not appear that any of the earlier sages, who drew their doctrines from mythology or tradition, fancied the soul to be immortal or eternal in its individual character. We learn from Cicero, and Diogenes Laertius, that the Stoical school, who derived their tenets from antiquity, maintained in general that the soul survives the body, but has a finite term of existence.* Cleanthes held that all souls will continue in a separate state, until the great catastrophe or conflagration of the universe, when all finite beings will be resolved into the divine essence from which they originally emanated.† Chrysippus taught that the souls of the wise and good alone enjoy so long a term of existence. At any rate, the period of the great cycle, or apocatastasis, was the utmost limit to which the individual existence of any finite being could extend.

The doctrine of the emanation and refusion of the soul is several times alluded to by Euripides, who held the tenets of the Ionic sect, derived by the founders of that school from Egypt. The following passage from a fragment of the Chrysippus expresses it most clearly.

Χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας
φῦντ' εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου

* Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. cap. 32. Diog. Laert. lib. vii. sect. 156.

† See Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation; part iii. chap. 3.

ἔλαστόντα γονῆς, εἰς οὐράνιον
πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν· θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν
τῶν γιγνομένων.

Those things which sprang from the Earth go back again to the Earth; those which spring from an etherial stock, return to the heavenly vault. Nothing perishes that has once had existence.

It is alluded to, also, in a drama which is still extant:

..... Ὁ νοῦς
τῶν κατθανόντων ζῇ μὲν οὔ, γνώμην δ' ἔχει
ἀθάνατον, εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών.*

The intellect of the dead lives not, but has an immortal sense, being poured out into the immortal æther.

This† doctrine was contained in the old Hermaic books, entitled "Genica," cited by Eusebius, but now lost.

"Οὐκ ἠκούσας ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς" says Eusebius, "ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ παντὸς πασαὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν." "Have you not yet been informed by the Genica, that all individual souls are emanations from the one soul of the universe?"

On this doctrine of emanation and refusion, which, as we have seen, was taught in Greece by the first mystics from Egypt, was founded probably at a late period the system of the Gnostics, which has been termed the oriental philosophy; that of the Jewish Cabbalist, and those refined speculations, concerning

* Fragment, Chrysippi. † Eurip. Helene. l. 1022.

the descent of the soul through the seven planetary spheres, and its re-ascent, which we find detailed in the writings of Celsus, Porphyry, and Macrobius.* What share the Egyptians had in these fictions it is difficult to say; but we find them in the Hermetic books,† and there is nothing in their nature or style that forbids the supposition that they had their origin in the mysteries of Egypt. That they existed in a very remote age would seem probable, from the circumstance, remarked by Beausobre‡ that the vision of Jacob, related in Genesis, seems to contain an allusion to the phraseology, or style of representation adopted in them.

The heavens were divided by these mystics into eight regions or spheres. The eighth, or highest sphere, was that of the fixed stars, the region of the divine and incorruptible æther, from which all souls had emanated. This was the native and original abode of all intelligent and spiritual essences. As long as they remained there, detached from all the imperfections of matter, their nature was pure and unsullied. Certain souls, however, either impelled by wandering appetites, or driven as the due chastisement of offences, (for some maintained this opinion) descended into the lower world, and passing down

* Celsus apud Origen. contra Cels. lib. vi. p. 290; edit. Cantab. Porphyr. de Antro Nympharum, passim. Macrob. Somn. Scip. lib. i.

† Particularly in the Pœmander.

‡ Beausobre Hist. du Manichéisme. tom. ii.

The reader will find ample details on this mystical transit of souls through the heavenly spheres, in Beausobre's Histoire du Manichéisme, and in the work of Dupuis, entitled "Origine de tous les Cultes," at the end of the fourth volume.

through the seven spheres, named from the seven planets, acquired in this transit those vices and evil propensities which were peculiar to each region. "This descent was described in a symbolical manner," as Origen informs us, "by a ladder which was represented as reaching from heaven to earth, and divided into seven stages, at each of which was figured a gate; the eighth gate was at the top of the ladder, which belonged to the sphere of the celestial firmament."* There was another path for the ascent of souls from earth to heaven; and at the summit was another gate, which was termed the gate of the gods, the former, by which the souls descended, was called the gate of men. The situations of these two gates are determined by Macrobius, who says they were at the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, where the galaxy intersects the zodiac.† There was also a gate belonging to each of the seven planetary spheres.

When a soul had suffered the calamity of being degraded from heaven to earth, it was only by purifying itself from the corrupt affections of the body that it could become fitted for its return to the celestial regions. For this purpose, according to some philosophers, three periods of transmigration were allowed; and if it neglected to profit by these opportunities, there were some who maintained that its final doom was utter extinction.

It may indeed be questioned whether this theory, in the form above detailed, was a genuine piece of Egyptian mythology. We may, however, with greater

* Origen. loco suprà citato.

† Macrob. Somn. Scip. c. xii. lib. i.

confidence, ascribe to the Egyptians the doctrine of emanation, and refusion, and purgatorial transmigration, which we have illustrated by the foregoing extracts from Virgil, Pindar, and Euripides, and the dogmas of the Stoic and Pythagorean schools.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER III.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE EGYPTIAN DOCTRINE.

The ideas of the ancients, and particularly of the Egyptians, respecting the fate of the soul, are still so much involved in obscurity, even after the most diligent research into antiquity, that it seems reasonable to look to distant quarters for some additional illustration. We know that the Egyptians, and the natives of Hindostan, have from immemorial time believed in the doctrine of Metempsychosis. This proves some connection in the metaphysical dogmas of the two nations, and suggests the advantage of inquiring into the opinions of the Brahmans respecting the state of the dead, and comparing the latter with the ideas of the Egyptians.

There appears to be some degree of contradiction in the doctrines of the Egyptian priesthood, or at least in the tenets which the philosophical sects in Greece professed to have borrowed from them, with respect to the state of the soul in a future world, and to the individuality of its existence.

As the Hindoos, as well as the Egyptians, held that there are repeated revolutions, bringing with them the destruction and restoration of worlds, in perpetual vicissitudes, and that at the end of each great cycle all beings that had emanated return into the

divine essence, it is obvious that neither party believed in the eternal existence of the soul in a state of distinct consciousness. At the termination of the great cycle, when the heavens themselves were to be dissolved and melt away, and nothing was to remain except the primeval spirit, both gods and men, and souls of inferior rank, were all absorbed. This, then, was the utmost limit of conscious existence. But the final absorption, as the Hindoos believe, may be anticipated; and besides this supreme happiness, this only true immortality, which yoguces and fanatical ascetics seek to attain, by voluntarily submitting to the most severe abstinences and most frightful tortures, there are, according to the Brahmans, various scales of beatitude or misery, of reward or penal chastisement, which may be enjoyed or suffered. Such is the doctrine of the Indian Brahmans; and, from the observations in the foregoing chapter, it seems probable that the opinions of the old Egyptians, respecting the future condition of the soul, were modified in a similar way.

According to the Sastras, there are four kinds of happiness after death. 1. That which is enjoyed in the heavens of the gods. 2. The honours and joys of deification. 3. The privilege of dwelling in the presence of the gods; and 4. Absorption. From the three first the soul descends to a subsequent birth. The last is a state of eternal reunion with the divine nature. "The three first are obtained by works; the last by divine wisdom."

The various heavens and hells of the Hindoo mythology resemble the classical fictions respecting the joys of the Elysian fields, or of the Isles

of the Blessed, or the pains of Phlegethon. The dogma of absorption assumes a more philosophical aspect. It is very similar, even in the manner of illustration, to the tenet of the Ionic philosophers, contained in the verses above cited from Euripides. The soul is liberated from its prison, and absorbed in the universal ocean of spirit or deity. "The Hindoos illustrate their idea on this subject, by comparing the soul to air confined in a vessel, which, when the vessel breaks, is immediately lost in the vast body of air which composes the atmosphere."*

If we may give credit in the passage we have cited from Servius, the Romans sought by their funereal rites to hasten the reunion of the soul with the universal spirit; while the Egyptians endeavoured to delay this event and to prolong the time of separate existence. We are informed that some of the Hindoos, as the worshippers of Vishnu, pray not for absorption, which they dread, as the loss of distinct and conscious being, but for the privilege of dwelling for ever in the heaven of their god, freed from the contingency of future births.

It is impossible to decide what particular shades or varieties of these ideas were adopted by the followers of Hermes. It seems to be highly probable that they were variously blended by different sects in Egypt, as they are in the East. When men desert the region which is subjected to the dominion of their senses, and within the reach of their sober intellects, and give a loose flight to the imagination into the world of

* See Rev. W. Ward's View of the Literature, History, and Religion of the Hindoos, vol. i.

invisible things, all the ideas they can form will be vague and fluctuating, and we shall seldom find any dogma existing long without variation.

The Hindoos believe, as did the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, that the funereal rites, which they term *Sraddha*, have an important effect on the destiny of the soul. The Sastras teach that the soul, immediately after death, becomes a ghost or "pretá," and remains inclosed in a diminutive body, in the custody of Yama, the judge of the dead. If the funereal rites, or Sraddha, be omitted, the soul cannot escape from the state of "pretá:" if they are duly celebrated, the soul at the end of a year is delivered from its prison, and ascends to a state of temporary happiness, whence it afterwards issues, to pass into a body appropriate to its merits.

The judgment of its deserts is performed by Yama, who summons, as witnesses at his tribunal, Surya, the Sun; Chandra, the Moon; Pavana, Wind; Agni, Fire; Akasa, Æther; Prit'hivī, Earth, and Varuna, Water; an invocation which forcibly reminds us of the custom, so frequently traced in the older Greek poets, of calling upon the elements, as witnesses who were to appear at the final doom. The following lines of Homer recal this idea in the most striking manner:—

Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε,
Ἥλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις,
καὶ Ποταμοὶ, καὶ Γαῖα, καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπιορκον ὀμόσσῃ,
ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστα.*

* Iliad Γ. p. 276. See parallel passages in Æschylus, Prometheus, v. 95 et seq. Æneid. iv. xii, &c.

"Jupiter, ruling on Ida, most glorious, greatest! and thou, Sun, who seest and hearest all things! you Rivers! and thou, Earth! and ye who punish, in the realms below, those who violate the sanctity of oaths! I call you to witness and maintain our faithful league."

We have offered these observations, because the ideas of the Hindoos respecting the metempsychosis, and the final state of the soul, which bear a manifest resemblance to the Egyptian tenets, seem likely to account for the contradictions we have observed in the notions of the Greek philosophers and Egyptian priests, and to afford an outline that may unite the different fragments of their doctrine into an uniform and not wholly unconnected system. At present we do not pretend to say how far the analogy between the ideas of these two nations extended, but venture simply to hint, by anticipation, that sufficient reason will hereafter be found for concluding the coincidence to be essential and fundamental.

BOOK THE THIRD.

ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE THE EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY, BY COMPARING IT WITH THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Remarks.

After the most careful analysis of the remains of the Egyptian mythology, we find ourselves unable to restore the whole system in that complete and consistent state in which it may be supposed to have originally existed.

In the pursuit of this attempt, we labour under a peculiar disadvantage. The teachers of Egyptian philosophy have long ago disappeared. None of them yet survive to guide us through the mazes of their labyrinths. The whole race have become extinct, and their native literature has perished with them.

Our countrymen in the East, who have made us acquainted with the sciences and religion of the Hindoos, entered upon their investigation under far more favourable auspices. They have been guided in their researches by native pundits, the descendants and successors of the old Brahmans; who have been found able to interpret the sacred volumes of their ancient hierarchy. Accordingly, the success which has attended the labours of the Asiatic Society has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the learned in Europe.

There are many subjects connected with the antiquities of Egypt, and particularly with the history of the mythology and its progressive developement, which seem likely to remain for ever hidden in obscurity, unless we should find it possible to throw an indirect light upon them, derived from the ancient literature of India. But, before we are allowed to anticipate any important assistance from this resource, it may be thought incumbent upon us to afford something more than internal proof of the affinity we suppose to exist between the mythology of Egypt and the East.

It has been frequently asserted, since the writings of Sir William Jones and his learned associates have rendered an acquaintance with the more striking features of the Indian idolatry very general, that these two systems were intimately connected. This conclusion, however, has lately been controverted; and it has been asserted that the whole mythology of the Egyptians was indigenous, and distinct in its origin from any of the Asiatic superstitions.

It must be confessed that no essential affinity has been traced between the languages of Egypt and of India; nor can we afford satisfactory proof, from authentic history or tradition, of any ancient intercourse between the natives of these countries, or demonstrate that they sprang from a common source.

We must therefore rest the whole weight of our hypothesis upon internal evidence. It will be perhaps allowed, that this kind of testimony may, if sufficiently ample, supersede the necessity of any direct proof. I am indeed persuaded that this observation will apply to the present case, and that the mass of evidence resulting, even from a superficial comparison

of the Egyptian and Indian fables, is sufficient to evince their essential affinity. I have reason to believe that such of my readers as possess any acquaintance with the literature and mythology of the Hindoos, will already have recognized satisfactory proofs of this opinion; and that those who entertain any doubt will hereafter arrive at the same conclusion. This I shall for the present anticipate; but, without resting any thing important upon mere presumption. I shall now proceed to an investigation, which will afford an opportunity of supporting the hypothesis I have assumed, and at the same time of availing myself of all the advantages that may be derived from it.

As it was never my design to treat expressly on the fabulous religion of India, I shall only consider it in those points of view which are likely to display its relations to the Egyptian mythology. This object will be best attained by an historical survey of the philosophical systems and superstitions which have prevailed in the East from the most remote antiquity.

SECTION II.

General Observations on the History of the Indian Mythology.

There is no author in our own language who has treated at length on the mythology of the Hindoos, in that point of view which is the most important for our present inquiry. I have no where found this subject

elucidated in a satisfactory manner, except in a short treatise, published in Germany by the learned Mr. F. Schlegel, on the "Languages and Philosophy of the Eastern Nations."

Several motives have determined me to rest satisfied for the present with a brief abstract of this author's survey of the subject under consideration. It appears impossible to state the facts which I wish to lay before my readers in a more lucid and at the same time compendious manner. If I attempted to condense in a short compass the information derived from different quarters, I should incur a suspicion of distorting the picture in order to derive advantages in the further prosecution of my argument. This will be avoided by the plan which I propose to follow.

According to this author, the history of Oriental learning and superstition may be divided into four principal eras, which follow each other in chronological order. To the first period belong the doctrines of the emanation and transmigration of souls, which seem to be the foundation of the oldest system of philosophy prevalent in the East, as far as our knowledge of Oriental history extends. The second era is that of astrolatry, including the barbarous worship of nature, of the visible elements, and heavenly bodies. The third is distinguished by the dogma of two principles, or of the warfare between light and darkness, between the good and evil genius. The fourth is the age in which the doctrines or representations of the Eastern schools acquire a more refined and metaphysical description, approximating, in some important traits, to the character of the European philosophy. This later period is distinguished by

our author, with what degree of propriety we shall endeavour in the sequel to estimate, as the age of Pantheism.

The following chapter contains a translation of the most important of Mr. Schlegel's remarks on the characteristic tenets of these different schools.

CHAPTER II.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE HINDOO MYTHOLOGY.

SECTION I.

Doctrine of the Emanation and Transmigration of Souls.

Among the systems of religion or philosophy to which Asia has given birth, none claims more indisputably an Indian origin; none, with the exception of the Mosaic records, has higher pretensions to antiquity, than the doctrine of the emanation and wandering of souls. The foundations of this system are to be found in the Code of Menu, a relic of ancient times, which is at least of equal antiquity with the oldest specimens of European literature. This work has been, during some thousand years, as it is at the present day, the basis of the laws and institutions, and, we might almost say, of the daily habits of the Hindoos; as evidently is it the principal foundation of the Indian sagas and mythology. Besides the information derived from the laws of Menu, we may yet expect to obtain some further insight into the principles of this doctrine from the Vedas; and perhaps from the oldest school of Indian philosophy, which has been named Mimanso, and which acknowledges for its founder Yoimini, the author of the Samoveda.

It will presently appear how intimately the emanation of souls, in the original sense of that dogma, is connected with the metempsychosis. We must, indeed, withdraw our thoughts from those doctrines which were distinguished by this term among the Chaldeans or the Greeks of later times. Among the latter we no longer discover any system of doctrine in its original purity; but a confused mixture of tenets, derived from various schools, obtrudes itself on our observation under the name of Oriental philosophy. We must be especially careful not to confound the doctrine of Emanation with Pantheism. To those who are only familiar with the more logical forms of the recent philosophy of Europe, the bolder figures and more lively expressions of the Oriental system may be mistaken for Pantheistic doctrines. These different schemes may, indeed, frequently be found connected in later times: yet the original difference is very essential, since in the old Indian system individuality of existence is by no means subverted or denied: the reunion of particular beings with the divinity is only possible, and not necessarily implied. The perversely guilty are represented as remaining for ever cut off, and cast away; or, if we adopt a more recent phraseology, which is however strictly congenial with these ancient doctrines, the eternity of hell-torments is by no means irreconcilable with the system of emanation, but rather constitutes an essential part of it. With respect to the relations of Good and Evil, no doctrines can be more directly opposed to each other, than the system of emanation and that of pantheism. Pantheism teaches that every thing is good, because every being is a portion of the one

great soul, and all actions are performed by his immediate agency; that every appearance of what is called wrong or evil is a mere deception. Hence the pernicious influence of this doctrine on life and manners; since, whatever impression we may aim at producing by speciously sounding phrases, still, if the heart be only faithful to this debasing philosophy, it will regard all human actions as indifferent; and the eternal distinction between good and evil, between right and wrong, will be confounded and obliterated. It is far otherwise with the doctrine of emanation, which describes "every being as wretched by its own guilt, and the world itself as debased and corrupted, as a scene of ruin and lamentable decline from the beatitude and perfection of that being from whose essence it emanated."

To contend against the truth of this system by logical arguments would be in vain, since it is not founded on a basis of reasoning, but has rather the form of poetical representation, or of a work of the imagination, like other figurative cosmogonies. Yet it well deserves to be termed a system, on account of the profound connection that prevails between its parts; and it is partly to this circumstance, and partly to the supposed authority of ancient revelation, or a divine original, that we must attribute the powerful ascendancy it has held over its votaries during thousands of years. It also deserves our attention as displaying the most ancient belief of mankind with which we gain any acquaintance in the dim twilight of antiquity; as a doctrine which in the sequel has exercised a remarkable influence on the later developement and on the entire history of the human mind. In order to

comprehend it, it is necessary to enter into the sentiment in which it originates, and which pervades the whole of it.

Menu, after describing the derivation of all the powers of nature, of all living creatures, whether animals or plants, for the latter are regarded as containing so many imprisoned souls, concludes with this general reflection:

"These beings, involved in shades of multiform darkness as the recompense of past transgressions, are yet indued with inward conscience, and are sensible of happiness or pain." Thus bound in chains of darkness, and yet internally conscious of guilt and of the death which awaits them, they hasten ever on that career that is allotted to them towards the inevitable goal.

"In this tremendous scene, every soul, from Brahma to the herb of the field, wanders ever towards its doom; in a world always tending to ruin and decay."

In these words is expressed the genuine spirit, the prevailing sentiment of the whole system. If we collect whatever the poets of antiquity have expressed in proverbs or ejaculations concerning the misery of life, those rays of horror which, in the most deeply impressive tragedies, arise from the fearful idea of a blind fatality, and shed a gloom over the history of gods and men; if we combine all these reflections in one connected view, and change their transitory and poetical character into a form of settled and serious contemplation, we shall conceive the peculiar sentiment which pervades the philosophy of the ancient Hindoos."

"Hence the doctrine of the four ages, of which the

succeeding is always in a certain proportion more depraved and more wretched than the former, till we arrive at the fourth period of consummate vice and misery, which is now present. On the same principle the gradation of the four classes or great castes in the social constitution of the Hindoos is often represented as a scale of progression towards earthly imperfection and debasement. Hence also the doctrine of *Troilokyon*, or the three worlds, *Troigunyon*, or the three chief powers, the first of which is named "*Sotwo*," or truth; the second "*Royo*," deceptive and splendid in appearance; and the third "*Tomo*," or darkness. In the emanations themselves also, whether they are spirits or the powers of external nature, the same law of progressive deterioration constantly prevails.

"From the infinite essence of the eternal being, the great soul," says Menu, "first shone forth, the first emanation; and from the Great Soul proceeded Consciousness. After Brahma himself has called forth the common powers of the mind and of nature, Menu creates individual beings.* Bhrigu, in the succeeding explanation, describes the elements as proceeding from the soul, and as emanating one from the other in a certain order, according to the ideas that were entertained of their comparative dignity and perfection. This law of progressive debasement and regular deterioration, and the sentiment of inward sorrow and remorse connected with the consciousness of guilt and the expectation of death, are the foundations of the oldest sagas. The particular steps in the scale of emanations are variously described

* Menu, cap. i, v. 33.

according to the arbitrary choice of the poetical cosmogonist."

"Among the divinities of the Indian mythology, Brahma is the god who more especially belongs to this system. Brahma, in that representation of him which we find in the institutes of Menu, is the eternal soul, the infinite being, king and ruler of all nature, or, as he is called in scriptures of a later date, Father and Lord of the Universe. He is the inconceivable being, the alone self-existent, the divinity himself. The same description, in writings of a more recent period, is applied to Siva and Vishnu, by the respective worshippers of these gods: in the code of Menu Brahma holds the first place. The more limited interpretation of this divinity, as representing the earthly element, must be considered as the idea of a subsequent age.

"Greatly as this doctrine has been corrupted by the wild fictions of a poetical imagination, and much as it has been contaminated by the most frightful and hideous superstitions, which have penetrated the whole philosophy of the Hindoos, and display themselves in the customs of their daily life,—yet we cannot refuse to admit that the ancient sages of India possessed some idea of the true God. All their scriptures are indeed full of phrases and expressions which declare this doctrine in as dignified, as clear, and exalted a manner, and in terms as profoundly scrutinized and as definite, as human language can adopt in reference to the nature of an infinite being. How has it come to pass that wisdom so exalted has mingled itself with such a mass of error and corruption?

It will be readily allowed that the imagination

could scarcely fill up the chasm which intervenes between the idea of divine beatitude and the imperfections of the created world, in a more probable and natural way than by the hypothesis of emanations. This doctrine has not only been the basis of the oldest and most universal superstitions, but also a rich fund of poetry and fable. Every creature is represented by it as an efflux from the Deity; each being is only a more limited, confined, and obscured divinity: thus all nature is animated, and endowed with a soul; the world is a scene of hylozoism rather than of polytheism, or if we may use such an expression, an universe of gods. The multitude of the Indian deities is indeed innumerable. This infinite luxuriance of poetical fiction, not superadded from without, but native and original, distinguishes a mythology which springs from these fruitful sources, from the scanty and meagre superstitions which, among less cultivated nations, or, to speak more definitely, among nations further removed from the streams of ancient tradition, are founded on the stories of ghosts or the souls of departed ancestors. Yet the deification of heroes can easily be combined with the idea of original emanations, and the Rishis of Menu's Cosmogony seem to afford a vestige of this mode of superstition in so remote a period."*

The system of emanation is seen in the most favourable point of view, when we contemplate it as the doctrine of restitution. From the divine origin of man, it takes occasion to remind him of his restoration, and to set before him a re-union with the divinity

* Here follow some remarks on the deification of heroes, which we omit, as not particularly connected with our present subject.

as the single object of his thoughts, and of all his exertions. Hence the religious interpretation of so many laws and customs among the Hindoos, and the sublime and serious import of all the regulations of their social life. Yet the genuine spirit may easily have vanished, so that nothing but the dead rites and mere pantomime remained, and superstition and error may at an early period have mingled themselves with institutions of a purer and better origin.

From the ideas which pervade this system, respecting the gradation, and the various kinds of living and conscious beings, concealed under such multifarious forms, and their perpetual approximation towards or departure from the common source, arose the fiction of Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. Closely associated with the same principle, and in some manner an essential part of it, is the belief in a former life, or in the pre-existence of souls, and the doctrine of abstract or more perfect ideas, derived from an obscure remembrance of divine perfections contemplated by the mind in its former state, which, in this world, are occasionally recalled by the sight of beautiful objects, in some measure partaking of the same qualities. This is a doctrine with which Calidas sports in the drama entitled Sacontala, and to it he makes a common reference, as to a well known and popular mode of thinking. Wherever we find the doctrine of transmigration not merely connected with a physical theory but with the idea of the moral degradation and misery of all beings, and the necessity of their purification and restoration to God, there we may be sure that it has been derived from the same source, and is of Indian origin.

SECTION II.

Of the Belief in Astrology, and the barbarous Worship of Nature.

If the system of emanation, by the moral sentiment it inspires, and the doctrine of creation which it exhibits, claims a preference over simple pantheism, which, by presenting a merely negative and abstract idea of the infinite being, leads its votaries into a state of indifference with respect to morality, it cannot at the same time escape the reproach of fatalism, in the oldest form in which it presents itself to our view. The doctrine of predestination has been already mentioned, as contained in the poetical cosmogony of Menu, where the reader will find it fully developed. To the same system of ideas belongs the dogma of perpetual revolution, and of eternal alternations in the vigils and repose of the Infinite Being.

"The Being," says Menu, "whose powers are incomprehensible, having created me and this universe, again became absorbed in the supreme spirit, changing the time of energy for the hour of repose."

"When that power awakes, then has this world its full expansion: when he slumbers with a tranquil spirit, then the whole system fades away."

The author then further describes the absorption of all earthly beings into the essence of the Infinite.

"While he reposes in a calm sleep, embodied spirits depart from their several acts."

And again:

"Thus, that power, alternately waking and reposing, calls into life, and again destroys, in an eternal vicissitude, the whole universe of beings, whether moving or immovable: himself subject to no change.",

"Such revolutions* are without number: there are numberless creations and destructions."

"The supreme being performs all this again and again, as if in sport."

The idea of an universe called into existence, without any design, by a merely sportive energy of the creative power, is nearly related to the celebrated fiction of a perpetual revolution.

In later systems, this is termed the alternate contraction and expansion of the great power of nature, the pulsation of the soul of the world.

The doctrine of Fatalism was expanded into an artificial system, which extended itself far among the oriental nations. Astrology, with all its circumstances, its forebodings, auguries, lucky and unlucky days, incantations, and black or magical arts, constitute one of the most remarkable phænomena of antiquity, and one which has exercised an influence of incalculable extent on all ages, even to our recent times.

Precisely with the same combinations, and not merely as a poetical or allegorical representation of the phænomena of nature, we discover the worship of the heavenly bodies connected with that of brute animals among the old Egyptians.

* Manwantaras. Menu, cap. i.

There are so many peculiarities in the nature of man, which are likely to seduce him from the adoration of his God to the worship of the visible elements of the universe, from the contemplation of the Creator to a blind admiration of his works, that it would be superfluous to trace the progress of this change. We find, in the ancient history of Asia, not obscure vestiges, but clear proofs of the wide extension of materialism; but the materialism of the East bears a peculiar stamp, which distinguishes it from those doctrines that have passed in Europe under the same name. We assign to it, in the historical series of oriental doctrines, that place which immediately succeeds the system of emanation and restitution. We might indeed discern some other intermediate grades, in the transition from a doctrine so sublime and spiritual to ideas so gross and sensual; but this inquiry would be superfluous, since, in the oldest relics yet known of Indian antiquity, as in the cosmogony of Menu, there are clear vestiges of a true materialism. We may indeed regard the symbol of the mundane egg, which is also found in the Egyptian mythology, as the offspring of a sportive and childish fancy; but the Matra, or seminal particles of the material fabric, require to be understood in a more philosophical sense. Whether in this instance, or in later expositions, they were atoms, in the sense of the Greek philosophers, and whether those Greeks were in the right, who maintained that the atomic doctrine had an eastern origin, we shall be better informed when the ideas of the Pashandists, Shoitists, and the Charval, which are represented to us as a system of atheism, shall be further known.

Among the superstitions, indeed, of the ancient Indians, composed as they were of various parts, and developed by successive steps, the worship of the material elements of nature occupies but too ample a space. The rites of Siva, sometimes represented as the source or element of destruction, sometimes as the generative principle of the physical world, and regarded as a mere bestial or animal nature, together with those of the frightful Durga, or Kali, present us on every side the emblems of death and of lust, bloody human sacrifices, and bacchanalian revelry in the most disgusting mixture. What renders this system of materialism, and of the worship of nature, so appalling, and so widely distinguishes it from the sensual superstitions of mere savages, is the sentiment of the vast and infinite, which pervades all the fictions of this era, and points backwards to their true original: the noblest and most sublime conceptions are easily deformed and distorted into horrible and gigantic prodigies.

This worship of Nature extended itself so widely, that we must confine our survey of it to a few of the most striking facts. All those false gods, before whose shrines human blood has flowed in so many regions of the earth, betray marks of affinity to the Indian Siva and Kali: such are the Baal and Moloch of the Syrian and Phœnician tribes, among whom this depraved superstition seems to have prevailed in an especial manner. To the same stock belongs the direful Hesus, at whose altars the ancient Gauls poured streams of human blood, which have had no parallel except in the history of the Mexicans. In the rites, also, of the old Egyptians, among the

worship of the stars and of living animals, the adoration of the *Lingum* and the all-productive *Yoni* held a far more conspicuous place than is commonly supposed. Herodotus deduces from Egypt the use of the *Phallus*, in the festivals and emblematic representations of the Greeks. The sexual emblems which the conqueror Sesostris is said to have set up in various countries, may be more naturally and probably derived from this source, and explained as the common symbols of superstition, than in the manner which the historian hints at, as testimonies of the masculine valour of some, and the effeminate weakness of other nations. The Phœnician Astarte, the Phrygian Cybele, the Ephesian Artemis, and even the German Hertha, are perhaps distinguished only in unessential points from the Indian Bhavani. The fundamental idea of an infinite power in Nature, endowed with the merely animal faculties of generation, is the same in all these instances. In Babylon, and in all the countries dependant on the Babylonish empire, Mylitta is well known as a goddess of the same character, who, among the Armenians was termed Anaitis, and Alilath by the old Arabians; and it is probable that the name of Yavani, in the books of the old Hindoos, was the designation, not so much of a particular people as of a religious sect, including all those nations to whom this mode of worship especially belonged.

That the worship of the powers of Nature, mitigated indeed, and embellished, and exhibited in a less systematic form, constituted the foundation of the Greek and Roman religion, will not be disputed by any person who surveys the fables of the Olympian

gods with a more penetrating eye than that of a mere antiquarian. Among the Romans, indeed, this barbarous superstition was corrected by a more severe morality, either derived from the relics of better times, or originating in the extraordinary wisdom of some ancient legislators. Among the Greeks, owing to the influence of climate and political circumstances, the old superstition of the East gradually expanded itself into a more sprightly and graceful mythology, into the composition of which some ideas seem to have been introduced from a different and a better system, which we shall presently contemplate.

The doctrine of this period has, in common with the system of emanation, that infinite luxuriance of fancy which characterises the fictions of the East. The wild and bold spirit which succeeded to the gloom and sorrow of the older philosophy, is the peculiar source of all the gigantic prodigies of poetry or fable. In the same train followed the deification of extraordinary men, for the productive or destroying power of nature is conspicuously displayed, and seems as it were personified in heroes or public benefactors. The six-armed Kartikeya, or Skondoh, the god of war, is, in the Indian fables, the son and companion of Siva. Perhaps not only warriors, but also inventors of arts, were reckoned among the gods. That the first steps in exploring the secrets of nature and of science greatly flattered the pride of man, we may learn from the prodigies with which the historian finds the mention of them accompanied. Together with the visible powers of Nature, the wisdom and science which explored their qualities were also deified; such

perhaps was the origin of the Egyptian Hermes, and of the older Indian Buddha. Ganesa, another god of invention, was also the companion of Siva. Finally, I may remark that the monuments at Ellora, Elephanta, and other places, testify indisputably the high antiquity of this form of Indian superstition; and that it is only on the principles of this doctrine that we can interpret the earliest efforts of sculpture among the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks Even in the Vedas, it is said that human sacrifices are ordained to be performed before the bloody Kali.

SECTION III.

Of the Doctrine of Two Principles.

We now enter upon a scene of more pleasing aspect. The system of Dualism, the oriental doctrine of two principles, and the eternal warfare between good and evil, claims this place in the order of time; since it appears, wherever we meet with the traces of it have been set up in opposition to the theories hitherto described, as a restoration of the ancient doctrine, the original light of truth. The spirit of this system is altogether *idealistic:* the notion of *self-existent conscious being* is indeed common to all the Indian schools, as the derivation of all material natures from spiritual essences has the firmer and more extensive hold, the higher we ascend in the history of oriental philosophy; so that, in this sense, nearly all the doctrines of the eastern sages may be termed *idealistic.*

But the peculiar agreement and coincidence of the doctrine we are now to consider, with what, in the West, has been termed Idealistic philosophy, consists in this circumstance, that energy and life are regarded by the sages of this school as the only principles essentially vital and operative; while absolute repose and inertia are represented as negative elements, or the principles of death and annihilation.

It is easy to suggest insurmountable objections to the doctrine of Dualism, considered as a philosophical theory. If, for example, it is supposed that the strife between the evil principle and the divine nature is to be eternal, a second power is introduced into the world, independent of the Deity, and, if not equal to him, yet in discordance with his government, and monotheism and subordination cease. If, on the other hand, as it is generally maintained, the evil principle is at length to be conquered and reclaimed, or Ahriman reconciled with Ormuzd, the idea of a perpetual warfare is in reality undermined, the whole scheme resolves itself, in the spirit of pantheism, into one nature, and the eternal enmity between good and evil vanishes. Notwithstanding these defects, it will be allowed that the intellectual religion of the Persians, with the exception of the Christian doctrine, as set forth in the Old Testament and perfected in the New, has greatly the advantage over all other oriental systems in sublimity, in its comparative approximation to truth, and in moral tendency.

Pantheism inevitably destroys the distinction between good and evil, however strenuously its advocates may contend in words against this reproach: the doctrine of emanation depresses the

moral freedom of the will by the idea of an infinite degree of innate guilt, and the belief that every being is predestined to crime and misery: the system of two principles, and the warfare between good and evil holds the middle place between these extremes: it becomes, itself, a powerful incentive to a similar contest, and a source of the purest morality.

Among material objects this religion consecrates not the appalling symbols of destruction, of death, and of lust, but the most beautiful and beneficent of elements, fire and the solar light; and, above all, the energy of life and of the soul. The seven Amshaspands, or Genii of the elements and chief powers of nature, stand like so many lords of the universe round the throne of their ruler, the noblest and first among his subjects. The heaven is filled by the sacred Feruers, or the divine prototypes and ideas of all created things. The star of day, Mithras, or the friend of mankind, is the mediator between them and the divinity. Bloody offerings disappear, and the ceremony of consecrating and distributing the pure *Hom* and *Miezd* on the altar, by the hands of the officiating priest, indicates a secret intercourse with God, through the means of the fairest productions of the earth.

But the elements are not the only immediate objects of worship to the votaries of this religion. Heroes also receive veneration, not as fierce conquerors and destroyers, and as such claiming a place among the destructive agents of nature, but as sent from heaven to overcome ferocious giants, the powers of darkness, and infernal spirits. The contest between Iran and Turan represents on earth what the warfare of

Ormuzd and Ahriman, the good and evil genius, is supposed to be in heaven. Feridun and Rustan, the celebrated champions of oriental song, overcome the fierce pride of Zohak and Afrasiab; but, more than all, Jemshid, the pattern of perfect kings, shines with unrivalled lustre amid the dark night of antiquity. A reign of infinite bliss, the seat of ever-beaming light, is essential to the doctrine of this school, as well as a scene of primitive blessedness and perfection, where Meshia and Meshianes wandered together in the garden of innocence; a state which it was the design of Zerdusht's religion to restore.

A considerable portion, and certainly the best and most attractive part, of the Indian mythology belongs to this style of philosophy. For it is according to this manner that we must interpret the preserving, beneficent, all-pervading Vishnu, with all his accompaniments. His consort is in every respect contrasted with the dreadful Kali, the ferocious companion of Siva. She is Padma, the lily of heaven, the blessed and all-blessing goddess; Lakshmi or Sri, the daughter of the sea-god Varuna. Cama, the god of love, is generally found in their suite; as well as Indra, the ruler of the firmament, the friend of man; with a host of happy and benevolent spirits, fairies, and celestial nymphs. Vishnu often appears on earth as a king or a sage, or a hero of wonderful exploits, and traverses all worlds with the design of banishing crimes, of conquering giants and the powers of evil, and of protecting all good men and genii, together with their chief, the benevolent Indra.

Greatly as this idea has been deformed by the arbitrary efforts of the fancy, which represent the

god, like another Proteus, assuming not only the human form of a hero or sage, but even the shapes of a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, and a fish; yet the fundamental idea of a god undergoing incarnation, and wandering on earth to inform the human race, to aid the virtuous and take vengeance on the wicked, is one which evinces, in the ancient Hindoos, no common refinement of sentiment and depth of thought. We find, indeed, in other mythologies, fictions of heroes, who in glory and virtue approximate to the rank of the celestial gods; warriors who, obeying a divine commission, fight ever against the wicked and in behalf of the virtuous; but in no hero or Hercules of poetic fable do we recognise the idea of divine incarnation so expressly set forth as in the story of the Indian Rama, the gentle conqueror, whose voluntary banishment into a scene of seclusion, together with his tragical or fortunate loves upon the Sita, have been the themes of so many beautiful pathetic strains.

This hypothesis claims a higher place in our esteem, when we consider the exalted morality that displays itself in the lives and doctrines of the Indian hermits and *munis*, particularly as they are represented in the Puranas. The rigour of those ancient penitents and *rishis*, who sought by the most severe self-torment to attain a higher degree of beatitude, and pretended to powers greater than nature had allotted them, withdraws now into the back ground; and we observe examples of the meekest resignation to the will of the Supreme, and a temper full of gentleness and humility.

As the worship of Vishnu occupies a considerable

place in the Vedas, a question here naturally offers itself, whether the ideal character of this divinity, as presented by these volumes, is the same with that portrayed in the Puranas? It is certain, at least, that the Vishnu of these poems has a very different description from the same god, as we find him in the institutes of Menu. But enough on this subject. What we already possess amply suffices to distinguish, in general outlines, the various parts of the Indian system of doctrine, the different stages of developement and epochs of the Indian mythology, and to arrange them according to their natural tenour and relations. We cannot pretend to define, accurately, the particular era of each, or attempt to furnish a complete history of their progress.

The doctrine of two principles, combined with the worship of the pure spirit of Nature, has not only been the source of a great part and by far the better portion of the Indian and Persian fables, but, even in the mythologies of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Northern nations, there are many things which have first received their full and true explanation from the style and connexion of these ideas; yet is this dogma not to be considered as a merely poetical fiction, but as also capable, in its origin, of a philosophical sense and interpretation. Even in the typical exhibitions of the Persians we may remark a certain relation of number among the emblematical figures, a plan of construction, the meaning and origin of which is to be sought in the duality of the primitive powers. That a philosophical system of this import and spirit was known in India is in the highest degree probable. Whether the Nyaya philosophy, the most

ancient, except the Mimansa, was founded, as the name seems to import, in such a principle of Dualism; whether the two systems of the Madwa, and Ramanuya, into which the followers of Vishnu are divided, and both of which are opposed to the Vedanti, belong to this school, future investigations will inform us; at the same time they will decide whether Zerdush adopted doctrines and representations derived from India, or the communication took place, as it is probable, in a contrary direction. Since India has given so much to the rest of the world, may we not allow that she has received something in return? At least, we should hold the possibility of such a case in our view, that we may not lay down a general observation for an invariable law, and thus expose ourselves to mistakes with respect to particular phænomena.

If any thing foreign has entered into the composition of the Indian scriptures, it will doubtless be found chiefly in the Puranas, in which the religion and fable of Vishnu occupy the principal place. When, indeed, we recognise in the Puranas the events and personages of our sacred Scriptures,—not only such as are supposed to have become well known among various nations, as the history of Noah and the Deluge; but others also, which belong in a more peculiar manner to the Bible, such as the history of Job,—we are yet not allowed to adopt the conclusion that the sages and poets of India derived these relations immediately from the books of the Old Testament; since it is possible that greater portions of sacred tradition may have been common to the Hebrews and the Persians, and again to the Persians and Indians, than we are generally accustomed to believe.

However the doctrine of Dualism may have the advantage when compared with others, yet here, as in other instances, where the light of the human faculties has not been maintained in its purity by a higher influence, error and superstition seem at an early period to have crept in; and one false step, in those ancient times of energy and enthusiasm, was enough to pervert the most sublime doctrines into sources of abominable and atrocious practices. From a reverential regard to the purity and sanctity of the great elements of nature, a sentiment which carries with it not only an air of poetical elegance, but a moral association, arose an anxious care to avoid contaminating these sources of life by the contact of dead bodies. Hence it became, in the religion of the Persians, almost the greatest of crimes to lay a corpse in the earth, or to consume it with the still more sacred flame. Hence also arose the horrible custom of the ancient Magi, who exposed the remains of the deceased, to be torn to pieces by wild beasts,—a practice which is still maintained in Tibet, though the religion of that country has since changed, and has extended itself even to the distant regions of Kamtschatka: customs often retain their influence after the ordinances or opinions which first gave rise to them have long disappeared.

SECTION IV.

System of Pantheism.

Among the philosophical systems of the East which are most important in an historical point of view on account of their widely-extended influence, one only remains to be considered, namely, the doctrine of Pantheism. The principles of this system are discernible in the doctrines of the Indian Buddhists, which, about the commencement of the Christian era, that is, nearly a thousand years after their first rise, were introduced into Tibet and China; which still prevail in Siam and the rest of the eastern peninsula, as well as in the island of Ceylon, and have extended themselves far to the northward among the Tartar tribes. At least, the dogma that the universe is substantially nothing, to which the idea that the whole consists of but one being so naturally leads, is assigned to the Chinese Fo, as the fundamental tenet of his esoteric philosophy. When all individual essences are swallowed up in the abstract and negative conception of the Infinite Being, and their separate existence annihilated, this idea itself soon eludes our grasp, and resolves itself into nothing.

It ought not to surprise the reader that we regard this philosophy as the latest of the Oriental systems. The proofs of this opinion must be given elsewhere. We shall only remark at present, that the lively and deep-rooted conviction of the existence of an Infinite

Being, and of his omnipotence, must have become very much weakened and obscured, before it could resolve itself into such an airy and unreal phantom as the pantheistic idea of the one sole Being, which can scarcely be distinguished from absolute non-existence. All the other doctrines of the Oriental schools are founded on miracles and an appeal to revelation, however distorted by errors, and intermingled with fable; the system of Pantheism owes its origin to metaphysical refinement, and thus marks the transition from the Oriental to the European style of philosophising. It flatters the vanity as well as the indolence of the human mind: for when once the generalising conclusion, which comprehends all being, and annihilates all, is made, there is an end of inquiry; all alterations of form and nature are regarded as mere deception.

Among people of strong feelings, who imbibed the spirit of this doctrine with enthusiasm, it assumed a character of the most fearful fanaticism. Hence those prodigious spectacles, which astonish beholders, of Yoguees and Sannyasis, who macerate their bodies, and seek self-annihilation as the great object of their wishes. On the other hand, among more frigid or weaker temperaments, the maxim that all evil is merely apparent, because all existence, being essentially one, must be perfect in its nature, leads its votaries into a fallacious cheerfulness and acquiescence in themselves.

That the doctrine of the Sanc'hya* school is completely Pantheistic, we may judge from the Bhagvat

* The Sanc'hya philosophy is the source whence the sect of Buddha seems to have borrowed its doctrines. It is vulgarly

Gita; but we must allow that the author of this work seems not to have thoroughly understood it, or at least to have distorted its sense according to his own habits of thought. In the Bhagvat Gita,† and, as we may conjecture with probability, in all the other works ascribed to Vyasa, the doctrine of the Vedanti is prevalent, of which he was the author. Hence we are better acquainted with this than any other system of Indian philosophy.

That this doctrine is nothing else than a pure and perfect Pantheism, we may perceive by the translation; and it is still more clearly traced in the original. The Vedanti, as the name indicates, professes to be only an exposition of the ancient Indian doctrine set forth in the Vedas. The old text, like the ancient basis of the civil constitution, has been suffered to remain, but the new tenets have been, wherever this was possible, impressed upon it. All beings are resolved into the great One, the Supreme, Brahme, or Ghuinyon, or the object of intellectual apprehension, which is here expressly defined to be a condition of indifference between existence and non-existence; between Sot and Osot. There are indeed passages in which the author seems to contend directly against the doctrine of the Veda. From the unmixed applause

ascribed to Capila, but appears to have been the work of Iswara Crishna, who is stated to have received the doctrine from Capila through successive teachers.—Colebrooke on the Vedas, Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 485.

† The Bhagvat Gita is not really the work of Vyasa, though vulgarly ascribed to him. There is reason to believe it to be a production of a much later period.

which he bestows every where on the Sanc'hya philosophy, it appears that there is an essential agreement between this and the doctrine of his own school.

We must wait for more satisfactory information concerning the real character of the Nyaya, Mimansa,* and Sanc'hya schools. The moral genius of the Mimansa, and the speculative character of the Sanc'-hya, agree well with the respective ages which we have allotted to them. At present we must be satisfied with having obtained from the Institutes of Menu a sufficient insight into the oldest doctrines of the Hindoos, and from the Bhagvat Gita a tolerably complete idea of the Vedanti, which must be regarded as the latest system in the whole succession of Indian literature and philosophy.

SECTION V.

Continuation of the same subject. Succession of Philosophical Doctrines and Mythologies in the East.

The foregoing remarks on the successive developement of speculative doctrines and mythological representations in the East, have been confirmed in the most important points by subsequent inquiries,

* The object of the Mimansa, says Colebrooke, is to establish the cogency of precepts contained in the Indian scriptures, and to furnish maxims for its interpretation; and, for the same purpose, rules of reasoning, from which a system of logic is deducible.

and particularly by the researches of the Society of English Antiquarians at Calcutta. They agree in general with the conclusions which seem to result from all the data we possess relating to the history of Indian literature. A sufficient analysis of the Vedas, which we owe to the learned and judicious Mr. Colebrooke, and some further information concerning the Indian schools of philosophy, have elucidated several topics, respecting which Mr. Schlegel was obliged to content himself with conjectures. We are thus enabled to correct the foregoing outline of the history of Oriental philosophy in some particulars, and to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

The most important exception that occurs to the scheme of this author relates to the place he has assigned to Pantheism, and the strong line of distinction he has drawn between that doctrine and the system of emanation. We learn from an examination of the Vedas, that a style of representation to which the term Pantheism may with propriety be applied, is as ancient as the oldest relics of Indian learning. The Pantheism of the Vedas is not indeed of that refined and metaphysical character, which Mr. Schlegel regards as essentially belonging to this name, nor is it founded on those subtle abstractions which the Vedanti school displays; yet it may be truly designated as Pantheism, since the conception of the Divine nature, which it presents, includes in itself the material universe.

Before I proceed further, I shall illustrate these observations by some striking passages from the Vedas, in which the departments and elements of nature are identified with or rather included in the

description of the Deity. The following representation occurs in the Yajur-veda.

"Fire is that (original cause); the Sun is that; so is Air; so is the Moon; such too is that pure Brahme; and those waters and that lord of creatures. Moments proceed from that effulgent person, whom none can apprehend, above, around, or in the midst. Of him whose glory is so great there is no image." "Even he is the god who pervades all regions; he is the first-born; it is he who is in the womb; he who is born; and he who will be produced; he severally and universally remains with all persons."

"He prior to whom nothing was born; and who became all beings, &c."

"The wise man views that mysterious being, in whom the universe perpetually exists, resting in that sole support. In him this world is absorbed, from him it issues; in creatures he is twined and woven, with various forms of existence." "Recognising heaven, earth, and sky to be him, knowing the worlds, discovering space and the solar orb to be the same, he views that being; he becomes that being; and is identified with him, on completing the broad web of the solemn sacrifice."*

The following curious passage from the White Yajur-veda, forming part of the hymn relating to the allegorical immolation of Narayana, exemplifies the extravagant figures contained in the Vedas, and other Indian cosmogonies. It begins by identifying the soul of man with the soul of the universe, which is the most characteristic tenet of the Pantheistic doctrine.

* On the Vedas or Sacred Writings of the Hindoos. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Asiat. Research. vol. viii. p. 432.

"1. The embodied spirit, which hath a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, *stands in the human breast, while it totally pervades the earth.*

"2. That being *is this universe, and all that has been, or will be;* he is that which grows by nourishment, and he is the distributor of immortality.

"3. Such is his greatness, and therefore is he the most excellent embodied spirit; the elements of the universe are one portion of him, and three portions of him are immortality in heaven.

"4. That three-fold being rose above this world, and the single portion of him remained in this universe, which consists of what does and what does not taste the reward of good and bad actions; again he pervaded the universe.

"5. From him sprang Viraj, from whom the first man was produced, and he being successively reproduced, peopled the earth.

"6. From that single portion, surnamed the universal sacrifice, was the holy oblation of butter and curds produced, and this did frame all cattle, wild and domestic, which are governed by instinct.

"7. From that universal sacrifice were produced the strains of the Rĭch and Sáman (Vedas); from him the sacred metres sprang; from him did the Yajush proceed.

"8. From him were produced horses, &c. cows, goats, and sheep.

"9. Him the gods, the demigods named Sad'hya, and the holy sages, immolated as a victim on sacred grass; and thus performed a solemn act of religion.

"10. Into how many portions did they divide this being, whom they immolated? What did his mouth

become? What are his arms, his thighs, his feet, now called?

"11. His mouth became a priest; his arm was made a soldier; his thigh was transformed into a husbandman; from his feet sprang the servile man.

"12. The moon was produced from his mind, the sun sprang from his eye, air and breath proceeded from his ear, and fire rose from his mouth.

"13. The subtle element was produced from his navel, the sky from his head, the earth from his feet, and space from his ear. Thus did he frame worlds."*——&c.

Expressions of this character are not confined to a few passages. Similar representations abound in the oldest remains of Indian literature, and, indeed, pervade all the scriptures of the Hindoos. The following is the general conclusion respecting the ancient doctrine of this people, which Mr. Colebrooke has deduced from an accurate examination of the Vedas and other sacred writings of the Indian priesthood.

"The real doctrine of the whole Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods."†

But though the oldest Hindoo Scriptures contain passages of this nature, which seem to identify the Deity with the world; yet they also deliver explicitly the doctrine of creation in the true sense: that is,

* On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmans especially; by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.—Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 251.

† Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 494.

they declare the prior existence of an eternal and spiritual being; who, by an act of his will, called forth the material universe, and gave origin to all subordinate souls, which they represent as emanating successively from the essence of the Supreme.

This doctrine is delivered in the following passage, cited from the Aitareya Aranya, a part of the Rig-veda.

"Originally this universe was indeed SOUL only: nothing else whatsoever existed, either active or inactive. He thought, 'I will create worlds.' Thus he created these various worlds, water, light, mortal beings, and the waters. That water is the region above the heaven, which heaven upholds; the atmosphere comprises light; the earth is mortal, and the regions below are the waters."*

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the pantheistic representation of the divinity is found combined, or rather confounded, with a dogma so distinct from it, and which seems so opposite in its nature as the system of emanation. Yet such is the fact. The essential and original doctrine of the whole Indian system of mythology, on the various developement of which the tenets of all the different sects are founded, is the emanation of subordinate natures from a primeval and spiritual Being. The pantheistic representation of this Being cannot have been coëval with that system. It betrays a different style, or mode of philosophizing, and can only have had its origin in a corruption of the doctrine of emanation, or in the expansion of its principles into a new and distorted form. We shall

* Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 421.

venture to consider the developement of this last system of ideas, as marking a second era in the history of oriental philosophy.

We shall assign the third rank in the succession of religious or philosophical conceptions to Materialism, or the worship of the visible elements and departments of the universe. This place seems, indeed, to belong to it, according to the natural and obvious progress of superstition. The connection of pantheistic representations with the worship of Nature scarcely requires to be elucidated; the whole frame of the universe being included in the idea of the divine essence, and the departments of the world contemplated as integral parts of it, the latter came, by a very easy transition, to be regarded as separate or subordinate gods. Hence the deification of the elements and celestial bodies. But the worship of material objects, as derived from this source, bears a very different impression from the rude superstitions of barbarous people, who have no other conception of the Deity than as the visible orb of the Sun or Moon, to which they address their adorations, looking upon them as living bodies, and the voluntary and beneficent dispensers of light and heat. From the worship of the stars, according to the more philosophical or systematic ideas of those who regarded them as particular portions of the animated and deified universe, there naturally originated certain notions respecting the influence of these agents on the destinies of mankind, and the revolutions of events. Thus judicial astrology and magical incantations became an appendage of this ancient superstition.

All these varieties in the religion of the Hindoos

must be referred to a very remote era. The systems of emanation and pantheism have been traced already to the Vedas. The germs of a wild and sensual materialism are very conspicuous in the Institutes of Menu.

The grosser and more revolting parts of the superstitions of India appear to be of later date than the religion of the Vedas, and the mythology embodied in Menu's Cosmogony. I now refer to the worship of Siva and Bhavani, with all the obscene and atrocious circumstances which characterize it. The fabulous incarnations of Vishnu, and the whole mythology of the Puranas, also belong to this subsequent era. As these are very important points in the system I wish to found on this inquiry, I shall quote the following conclusions of Mr Colebrooke, which, as far as their application extends, confirm the observations of the author from whom I have borrowed the foregoing sections.

"The three principal manifestations of the divinity," says Mr. Colebrooke, "with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindoo mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Vedas. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of that system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any other portion* of

* This alludes to the Rama tapaníya, and Gopala tapaniya, which contain the stories of Rama and Crishna. Mr. Colebrooke observes that "the former of these is inserted in all the collections of the Upanishads which he has seen: yet," he observes, "I am inclined to doubt their genuineness, and to suspect that they have been written in times modern, when

the text which I have yet seen; though such are sometimes hinted at by the commentators."

"According to the notions which I entertain of the real history of the Hindoo religion, the worship of Rama and of Crishna by the *Vaishnavas*, and that of Mahadeva and Bhavani by the *Saivas* and *Sactas*, have been generally introduced since the persecution of the *Baudd'has*, and *Jainas*. The institutions of the Veda are anterior to Buddha, whose theology seems to have been borrowed from the system of Capila, and whose most conspicuous practical doctrine is stated to have been the unlawfulness of killing animals, which in his opinion were too frequently slain for the purpose of eating their flesh, under the pretence of performing a sacrifice or Yajnya. The overthrow of the sect of Buddha, in India, has not effected the full revival of the religious system inculcated in the Vedas. Most of what is there taught is now obsolete; and, in its stead, new orders of religious devotees have been instituted, and new forms of religious ceremonies have been established. Rituals, founded on the Puranas, and observances borrowed from a worse source, the Tantras, have in a great measure antiquated the institutions of the Vedas. In particular, the sacrificing of animals before the idols of Cali has superseded the less sanguinary practice of the Yajnya,

compared with the remainder of the Vedas. This suspicion is chiefly grounded on the opinion that the sects which now worship Rama and Crishna, as incarnations of Vishnu, are comparatively new. I have not found, in any other part of the Vedas, the least trace of such a worship." Asiat. Researches, vol. viii. p. 494.

and the adoration of Rama and Crishna has succeeded to that of the elements and planets."*

But though the sects of Siva and Vishnu are subsequent in their origin to the institutions of Vedas, there is yet sufficient proof of their great antiquity. I need only allude to the ancient sculptures found in the Indian peninsula, and in the decorations of the subterranean temples. In the wonderful excavations at Elephanta and Ellora, the types of the worshippers of Siva and Bhavani are exhibited in colossal forms, as well as the figures of Crishna, and other incarnations of Vishnu. The flat roofs of these caverns, and every other circumstance connected with them, prove that their origin must be referred to a remote epoch. It is remarkable that the caves in Salsette, where Buddha is exhibited as the sole object of worship, have arched roofs, and are more modern in their style of decoration—a fact which indicates that the rites of the Saivas and Vaishnavas, in this part of India at least, preceded the era of the Buddhists.

That the system of the Vedas, however, was long anterior to the rise of the superstition now prevalent, may well be allowed, without refusing to admit the inferences to which these considerations lead. The extravagant notions which have been maintained respecting the vast antiquity of the Indian scriptures have been justly exploded and reprobated; yet it appears that many writers have gone, with just as little support from the testimony of facts, to the contrary extreme. The most moderate and judicious conclusion, on this much disputed point, is that which Mr. Colebrooke has obtained from a careful examination of internal

* Colebrooke ubi suprà.

evidence, and in particular from the treatises, of which one is annexed to each Veda, under the title of its Jyótish, explaining the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper periods for the performance of religious duties. "These formules are adapted to the comparison of solar and lunar time with the vulgar or civil year, and were evidently formed in the infancy of astronomical knowledge." From these considerations Mr. Colebrooke infers that the Vedas were arranged in their present form, in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, that is, about two hundred years later than the date of the Pentateuch of Moses. Several parts are evidently more modern; but these may commonly be distinguished in a satisfactory manner, and the texts which were compiled about the period above mentioned are themselves in general more ancient than the era when they were collected by Dwapayana, who was thence surnamed Vyasa, or the Compiler.

On the reviewing the whole of the evidence as yet obtained, concerning the origin and relative antiquity of the different modes of Indian superstition and philosophy, it appears that the outline of their history, as attempted by Mr. Schlegel, has been confirmed and completed, in the most important parts, by further inquiry and consideration. The limitations it requires have been noticed, as well as the inversions, which seem necessary in order to reconcile it with historical truth. The oldest doctrine of the eastern schools is the system of Emanation and Metempsychosis. Blended with this, but probably subsequent to it, is Pantheism, which already makes its appearance in the Vedas. The latter ushered in Hylozoism, and the deification

of visible elements, or, in other words, the worship of Nature. On this system, blended, at a subsequent era, with the veneration of heroes as incarnations of the gods, were founded the superstitions of the Saivas or Vaishnavas. But these last forms of mythology are at least as ancient as those celebrated excavations in the Indian peninsula which have excited the astonishment of all travellers. The superstition of the Saivas, or the religion of Siva, Mahadeva, and Bhavani, consists, as it is well known, of the worship of the elements, and particularly of the destructive and reproductive powers of Nature, connected with the display of consecrated symbols, the *lingum* and the *yoni*; that of the Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, of the rites and observances founded on the Puranas which relate to the incarnations of their god.

Though the three manifestations of the deity are mentioned in the Vedas and other remains of remote antiquity, yet, as Brahma is the most conspicuous divinity in the scriptures of this era, we shall distinguish the earliest forms of Indian mythology as the religion of Brahma. The later class of superstitions are already designated in the practice of the sects, who devote themselves respectively to Siva and Vishnu.

CHAPTER III.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SUCCESSION OF SUPERSTITIONS IN THE EAST, AND THE HISTORY OF MYTHOLOGY IN EGYPT.

SECTION I.

General Resemblance between the Indian and Egyptian Mythologies in the Conception of the Divine Nature.

We shall now examine the relations between the mythologies of India and Egypt, and inquire whether there are traces of a succession of periods and a gradual change of doctrines in the history of the latter, which bear any analogy to the revolution we have observed in the Eastern schools. This investigation cannot fail to throw light on the connection and mutual relations of the various parts of the Egyptian mythology. At the same time it will afford a complete solution of the problem, whether any essential affinity existed originally between these systems.

The first question that offers itself is, To what period in the history of the Indian mythology do the superstitions of Egypt bear the nearest relation?

I think it will appear evident that the more striking and popular of these superstitions correspond in general with those which belong to the third and fourth periods in the history of Eastern doctrines, and that the whole of the Egyptian mythology may be referred

to the transition from the more ancient into the later system. At the same time I think we may trace, in the doctrines and representations of the Theban and Memphite hierarchy, a transition from an older to a newer style of philosophy and superstition, bearing a near analogy to the gradual revolution which took place in the religion of the Brahmans.

But before we proceed further into this subject, let us mark the general resemblance, with respect to the conception and representation of the deity, which displays itself in the religion of the Indians and Egyptians. In both systems the idea of God was formed, not by a philosophical abstraction, or by inferences from effects to causes, but was, in fact, a sort of prosopopœia of Nature. The idea of the Divinity included in itself the whole universe. We shall here recall to our reader the description of Serapis, cited in a former Book, in which the Egyptian pantheism is strikingly characterized, and shall then cite a parallel passage from the Vedas. Serapis is thus described by the oracle which was interrogated respecting the nature of the god.

"Learn thus the description of my nature and divine attributes. The canopy of heaven is my head, the sea is my belly, the earth constitutes my feet, my ears are aloft in the etherial vault, and mine eye is the splendid and far-shining solar lamp."

The following is a description of the creation of Purusha, the first embodied being, from the Aitareya Aranya, which is a portion of the Rig-veda.

"He drew from the waters and framed Purusha. He viewed him; and of that being, so contemplated, the mouth opened as an egg. From the mouth speech

issued; from speech fire proceeded. The nostrils spread: from the nostrils breath passed; from breath air was propagated. The eyes opened: from the eyes a glance sprung; from that glance the sun was produced. The ears dilated: from the ears came hearkening; and from that the regions of space. The skin expanded: from the skin hair arose; from that grew herbs and trees. The breast opened: from the breast mind issued; and from mind the moon," &c.

"The deities, that is, the elements, fell into the ocean." They demanded a receptacle, and Brahma shewed them the human form. "He bade them occupy their respective places. Fire, becoming speech, entered the mouth. Air, becoming breath, proceeded to the nostrils. The sun, bringing light, penetrated the eyes. Space became hearing and occupied the ears. Herbs and trees became hair, and filled the skin. The moon, becoming mind, entered the breast."

The leading idea, in both these descriptions, is the same. It is a comparison of man, as a microcosm, with the universe, as a megacosm, or the converse. The style of the figures is in both alike.*

* This strange and uncouth assemblage of ideas may be recognised in the mythology of the ancient German nations. Yme the great First-born, was a microcosm of the universe. He was slain by the gods Odin, Vili, and Ve, the sacred triad of the Scandinavian mythology, who, from the body and blood of the giant, created all things.

"Of Yme's flesh was the earth created;
Of his sweat, the sea; the hills, of his bones;
The meadows, of his hair; and of his head, the heavens;

We find in the Bhagvat Gita a still more characteristic specimen of the pantheistic description of the divinity.

"The son of Pandoo then beheld, WITHIN THE BODY OF THE GOD OF GODS, STANDING TOGETHER, THE WHOLE UNIVERSE, divided into its vast variety. He was overwhelmed with wonder, and every hair was raised on end. He bowed down before the god, and thus addressed him with joined hands. '*I behold, O god! within thy breast, the devas assembled, and every tribe of beings.* I see Brahma, that deity sitting on his lotus throne: all the rishis and heavenly uragas. I see thyself, on all sides, of infinite shape, formed with abundant arms, and bellies, and mouths, and eyes; but I can neither discover thy beginning, thy middle, nor thine end. O universal lord! form of the universe! I see thee with a crown, and armed with club and chakra, a mass of glory darting refulgent beams around. I see thee, difficult to be seen, shining on all sides with light immeasurable, like the ardent fire or glorious sun. I see thee of valour infinite; THE SUN AND MOON THY EYES; thy mouth a flaming fire, and the whole world shining with reflected glory. The space between the heavens and earth is possessed by thee alone, and every point around.'" *

We must not regard these descriptions as peculiar

> And of his eye-brows, the blithe gods made
> Midgard, for the sons of men; and of his brains
> Were all the hard-tempered clouds created."
>
> *Herbert's Translations from the Icelandic,* vol. i. p. 27.

* Ward on the History, Religion, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 85 of the Introduction.

to any one god in the Indian or Egyptian theocracy. They appear to be rather the mode in which the mystics of both nations represented the divinity, and are appropriated in turns to various imaginary names.

SECTION II.

Of the Forms of Eastern Mythology, to which the Superstition of Egypt is particularly related.

The assemblage of splendid ceremonies and emblematical or figurative representations which formed so remarkable a feature in the history of the ancient Egyptians, bears in many respects a near resemblance to those superstitious rites and doctrines which we have supposed to belong to the third and fourth eras of Eastern mythology. In India, at this period, we lose sight of all abstract ideas of creation or emanation; we contemplate the material universe as an infinite frame endued with a living nature, of which intellectual or moral attributes form no part, while the merely animal or sensual powers are every where celebrated and exhibited in all the various forms which the luxuriance of a corrupt imagination could develope. Destruction, death, and all its terrors, every where stalk forth in the most appalling shapes. Lust and wanton revelry exhibit, in all directions, the most obscene and sensual emblems. Such is the religion of the destroying and generating Siva, and of Durga or Bhavani, his frightful or lascivious consort; and such was the religion of Osiris and Isis.

The most striking features in nature are the processes of destruction and renovation. It might be expected that the worshippers of nature would personify the powers that were imagined to give rise to these phænomena. They have in fact done so, and have exhibited the same scenes, with some accidental differences in Egypt, and in India.

The gods which compose the Egyptian Triad are personifications of the generative, the destructive, and the renovating or preserving powers; and the Trimurti of the Hindoos represents nearly the same qualities. The chief circumstance which distinguishes the theogonies of the two countries is the following. The Hindoos personified destruction as well as generation; but in the Indian prosopopœia, by some accident, these opposite characters are associated in one being. The frightful murderous Rudra is the same god as Iswara, the begetter of all. Also the black Kali, or Chamunda, whose image wore a necklace of human skulls, and is decorated with wreaths composed of the bloody ears and noses of captives,* is the same goddess as Bhavani, the all-teeming mother of creatures.

In Egypt, these attributes were more correctly divided. Osiris was the generator; he appeared in his true and distinctive function, when preceded by the Bacchanalian pomp, bearing aloft the Phalli, or that curious wicker image, which so strikingly portrayed the object of his existence or deification.† The malignant destroyer, Typhon, the murderous enemy

* Wilks's History of the Mysore, vol. i.

† See Herodotus, lib. ii.

of gods and men, the personification of physical evil, of death and destruction, is never identified with Osiris, though they were twin-brothers, but is always his adversary. But in the representation of the female power, the Egyptians made the same oversight as the Hindoos. Isis, in one character, expresses the universal mother, and corresponds exactly with Isani or Bhavani; in another, as the vindictive Tithrambo or Erinnys, she differs little from Kali.

If these circumstances be kept in mind, we shall observe a strict analogy between the characters of Siva the generator, and Osiris, and between Siva the destroyer, and Typhon; as we find the consort of Siva in her double character to correspond in both with the double attributes of Isis. Iswara or "LORD," is the epithet of Siva, regarded as the chief power or lord of nature. Osiris or Ysiris as Hellanicus wrote the Egyptian name, was the god at whose birth a voice was heard to declare, that the "LORD of all nature sprang forth to light." The analogy of names alone is a trifling circumstance: it may arise from accident, and cannot furnish a foundation for any important inference; but, when connected with a strongly-marked resemblance, and even with identity of character, it deserves notice.

One of the names of Siva is Tritochana, which means *Three-eyed: Trioculus.* Polyopthalmos, or "*Many-eyed,*" is the interpretation assigned by Diodorus and Plutarch to the name of Osiris.

Sir William Jones, and many ingenious writers who have followed him, have been very successful in tracing coincidences between particular stories comprised in the Indian mythology, and the fables of

other systems. This is not my object at present, and I shall merely point out some leading characters of resemblance in general principles, illustrating them with some particulars, but in as brief a manner as possible.

1. *Of Siva, as the god of Reproduction, compared with Osiris.*

Siva is represented, by the Hindoos, with one head, three eyes, and two arms, riding on a bull, covered with ashes, naked, his eyes inflamed with intoxicating herbs, having in one hand a horn, and in the other a drum.* Sarapis was figured by the Egyptians, as holding in one hand a crozier, in the other a flail. One of his forms was a bull.

Osiris, as identified with Bacchus, is the god of all sensual revelry; among the Greeks, of wine and intoxication. The tiger-skin was the appropriate garb of Bacchus.

Siva is often portrayed wearing a tiger-skin. He sits upon a lotus.

Osiris was clothed with the skin of a fawn, the spots being emblematical of his numerous eyes.† The infant Harpocrates, whose close relation to Osiris we have above remarked, was painted sitting upon a lotus.‡

Siva is very commonly worshipped under the form of the *lingum*, which is found in the adyta of the Eastern temples, and is suspended from the necks of Siva's votaries. This emblem performs a conspicuous part in the public honours and festivities of Siva, which bear a strong resemblance in many

* Ward, vol. i. p. 17.

† Plut. de Isid.

‡ Cuper's Harpocrates.

particulars to the famous Phallic or Ithyphallic pomps and representations. On this subject it is unnecessary to enlarge. The reader will find it sufficiently discussed in the second volume of the Rev. Mr. Maurice's Indian Antiquities.

Siva, as the god of generation, rode upon a bull.* He has the same attitude when regarded as the supreme judge, the author of legislation and civil order.† The bull of Iswara is celebrated throughout India. This god is worshipped by the people on the Caveri; and a number of bulls, which represent him, roam about the country, and receive extravagant

* Sir W. Jones, on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India. Asiat. Researches, vol. i.

† The following text is ordered to be repeated by a Hindoo, who has unwarily eaten or drunk what is forbidden, as an atonement; after performing the ceremony, the Gayatri is to be repeated eight hundred times. "The bull roars; he has four horns, three feet, two heads, seven hands, and is bound by a three-fold ligature; he is the mighty resplendent being, and pervades mortal men." "The bull" says the Commentary, "is Justice personified. His four horns are the Brahman, or superintending priest; the Udgatri, or chanter of the Sama-Veda, &c. His three feet are the three Vedas." Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, Asiat. Research. vol. v. p. 356.

A marked resemblance may be traced between Sarapis, the Egyptian Pluto, the ruler of the infernal regions, who was a form of Osiris, and the Indian Yama, King of Hell. Yama is figured sitting on a buffalo, with a club in his right hand. His dreadful teeth, grim aspect, and terrific shape, fill the inhabitants of the three worlds with terror.* He is guarded by two dogs, one called Syama, or black; and the other, CERBURA, or variegated, who has three heads.†

* Ward. † Wilford.

honours. The Siva-bhactar caste professes to owe its institution to the appearance of Baswa, the sacred bull of Iswara, and they relate many instances of the benefits conferred by this divine animal on the human race. At certain periods, they say that the world is overwhelmed by floods. The bull stands in the midst of the deluge, which ascends only half way up his thighs. Men and other animals are saved by laying hold of his hair.*

The Egyptian bulls, Apis and Mnevis, held a similar relation to Osiris. Mnevis was the first legislator of Egypt; and hence all the ancient lawgivers of mythology appeared in a tauriform shape, or had some fiction connected with their stories, that related to bulls. Such was the Minotaur of Minos, the lawgiver of Crete.

We have before observed, that water, as the element which in a peculiar manner fosters and seems to sustain all the fruits of the earth, was regarded by the Egyptians as the chief cause of all production, as the great genial principle of nature. As such it was the gift and the emblem of Osiris. Hence a vessel of water was carried in the processions of this god. In India, Siva is often worshipped in the form of a pan of water.

The Nile itself was called "an emanation from Osiris," as flowing from the god.† So the Ganges is represented as flowing down from the head of Siva,

* Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, by Dr. Francis Buchanan, M. D.

† Plutarch, ubi supra. The Nile is called "Οσίριδος Απορροὴ."

a fiction very celebrated among the poets and painters of India.*

2. *Siva, as the God of Destruction, compared with Typhon.*

Iswara, the god of generation, in many respects corresponds as we have seen, with Osiris. As a personification of the destructive powers of nature, he represents the same character as Typhon, and resembles him perhaps still more closely than in his former character with Osiris.

The images of Siva, in the form of Maha-Kala, the great destroyer, remind us of the figures of Typhon. They represent a smoke-coloured boy with three eyes clothed in red garments. His hair stands erect; his teeth are very large; he wears a necklace of human skulls, and a large turban of his own hair; in one hand he holds a stick, and in the other the foot of a

* Sir W. Jones introduces this fable in his hymn to Ganga.

"Above the reach of mortal ken,
On blest Coilasa's top, where every stem
Glow'd with a vegetable gem,
Mahesa stood, the dread and joy of men;
While Parvati, to gain a boon,
Fix'd on his locks a beamy moon,
And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
With reluctant sweet delay.
All Nature straight was lock'd in dun eclipse,
Till Brahmans pure, with hallow'd lips
And warbled prayers, restored the day;
When Ganga from his brows with heav'nly fingers prest,
Sprang radiant and descending graced the caverns of the West."

bedstead; he has a large belly, and makes a very terrific appearance.*

The Egyptian Typhon was a maleficent dæmon, who was blamed for all the misfortunes that occurred. Like the Lok of the Scandinavians, he was a sort of *Blight-crop,* who was perpetually contriving feats of mischief and deception.

Such, precisely, is the character of Rudra, the destroying Siva, as described in the following prayer. "O Rudra! hurt not our offspring and descendants; abridge not the period of our lives; destroy not our cows; kill not our horses; slay not our proud and irritable folks; because, holding oblations, we always pray to thee."†

Typhon, the enemy of the solar god Osiris, was worshipped, as we have before said, under the form of a Crocodile, and oblations of food were made to a living animal of this species. In India, on each day of the great and horrible festival of Siva, the sannyasis, or devotees, worship the Sun, pouring water and flowers on a clay image of the Alligator.‡

Typhon mutilated Osiris. In the Indian fable, Siva cut off one of the heads of Brahma, the creative god, who, as opposed to the destroyer, bears a certain relation to Osiris. This coincidence has often been remarked.§

Papremis the Egyptian Mars, and all other de structive dæmons of the male sex, were considered as

* Ward, ubi. supra.

† Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. Asiat. Researches, vol. v. p. 363.

‡ Ward, vol. i. p. 26.

§ Paterson. Asiat. R. vol. viii. Wilford, Asiat. R. vol. iii.

forms or characters of Typhon. So Kartikeya, the god of war among the Hindoos, and all their maleficent or destructive gods, are regarded as forms of the destroyer Siva.*

The frightful atrocities and astonishing self-tortures practised by yoguees and sannyasis, in the worship of Siva, form one of the most striking spectacles in the superstition of India. The great autumnal festival of Siva,† which happens nearly at the same season with the lamentation for the death of Osiris, bears, in many points, a striking resemblance to the mournful rites and flagellations of the Egyptians, and perhaps more particularly to the corresponding ceremonies of the Syrian Baal, whose worshippers cut themselves with knives.

Another ceremony, in honour of Siva, displays rites similar to the wintry festival in honour of Osiris, though celebrated at a different season. "Every year, in the month of Phalgoona, the Hindoos made the image of Siva, and worship it for one day, throwing the image the next day into the water. This worship is performed in the night, and is accompanied with singing, dancing, music, feasting, &c."‡

3. *Of the Worship of Bhavani, or Isi, compared with that of the Egyptian Isis.*

Most of the Egyptian goddesses resolve themselves into two, as we have before remarked. These are

* Ward's Introduction.

† For a full and authentic description of this festival, I must refer the reader to Mr. Ward's View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 21, et seqq.

‡ Ward, ubi supra.

Isis, the consort of Osiris; and Nepthys, or Venus, the wife of Typhon.

In like manner the Hindoo goddesses all resolve themselves into various forms of Bhavani or Durga, the wife of Siva; and Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu.

But, in Egypt, Isis is by far the most conspicuous, and appears in the most varied forms. So, in India, Bhavani, in her various characters, comprises nearly the whole catalogue of Hindoo goddesses.

Her original character in the shastras is that of Pracriti or Bhagavati, the female power, or Nature personified. Such, as we have shown, was the primitive designation of Isis, or Natura multiformis; the universal mother, "cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis."

Pracriti is identified with PARVATI, the mountain-born goddess. So Isis, or Demeter, in her Grecian name, is, as we have seen, but faintly distinguished from the mountain-goddess Artemis, on earth, and from PERSEPHATTA, or Hecate, in the infernal regions, who are sometimes called her daughters, at others are identified with herself.

Pracriti, or Bhavani, and Isis agree accurately in their original sense, both being personifications of prolific Nature. They coincide not less remarkably, when the Hindoo goddess becomes the bloody Kali, and the Egyptian, assumes the form of the horrible Brimo, or Tithrambo, who is described as "nocturnis ululatibus horrenda, triformi specie larvales impetus comprimens."

The rites of Maha Kali, or Chandi, the maleficent form of Durga, are detailed in the Kalica purana. Most

of the animals considered as Typhonian, among the Egyptians, are immolated before the shrine of Chandi. "The Kalica purana directs that birds, tortoises, alligators, fish, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, ichneumons, wild boars, rhinoceroses, antelopes, guanas, reindeer, lions, tygers, *men*, and blood drawn from the offerer's own body, be offered to this goddess." The following horrid incantation is addressed to her, when an offering is made to effect the destruction of an enemy. "O goddess of horrid form! O Chandika! eat, drown such a one, my enemy, O consort of fire! Salutation to fire! This is the enemy who has done me mischief, now personated by an animal: destroy him, O Maha mara! Spheng! Spheng! eat, devour!"*

Like that of the Egyptian Tithrambo, the worship of Kali is connected with the phases of the Moon. The rites of the Hindoo goddess were formerly celebrated monthly, and the darkest nights in the month were chosen for that purpose. At present her worshippers hold a festival to her honour on the last night of the decrease of the Moon, in the month Kartika, which is called the Syama, or black festival.† We have observed something analogous in the Egyptian rites of Hecate.

Parvati, or Isi, as well as the Egyptian goddess, is in some manner related to the Moon. A crescent is painted on her forehead, and on that of her husband Isa, or Siva. Isa, in one of his forms, is expressly

* Ward on the Hindoo Mythology, vol. i. Asiatic Researches, vol. i.

† Ward, ubi suprá, vol. i. p. 154.

called the Moon, and his consort, Isi, is then Luna.* The Moon, in the Hindoo mythology, is of two sexes. Chandra, or Deus Lunus, is the Moon in opposition to the Sun; Chandri, or Dea Luna, is the Moon in conjunction with him. In Egypt we have seen that in the month Phamenoth, Osiris was fabled to make his entrance into the Moon, though at other times the Moon was regarded as the visible appearance of Isis. But we are not accurately informed of the circmustances which distinguish Lunus from Luna, or of the precise relations of Isis and Osiris respecting the Moon. It is sufficient to trace a similar conversion in India and in Egypt.

In Egypt the Moon was at certain times a maleficent goddess; she wore the semblance of the angry Hecate. The Moon among the Hindoos is also regarded as a malignant planet.†

The beneficent form of Bhavani, termed Devi, or Anna Purna, is doubtless, as Sir W. Jones remarked, the Anna Perenna of the Romans, whose religion bears, in some particulars, a still closer resemblance to the eastern system, than the Greek, and perhaps even than the Egyptian. Anna Purna is, however, also the counterpart of the Egyptian Isis. She is figured as bent by the weight of her full breasts, and reminds us of the statues of Isis,‡ or Ceres Multimamma.

Bhavani is invoked by the name of Ma, as was Demeter, amongst the Greeks,§ by that of Maia, " and

* Moor's Hindoo Pantheon, p. 289.

† Ward. ‡ Paterson.

‡ Ceres, as well as Proserpine, was called Maia. Indeed they are expressly affirmed to be the same by Porphyry.

she is frequently represented "like the Grecian goddess, or rather like the Phrygian mother, in a car drawn by lions, holding a drum, and wearing a towered-coronet on her head."* Under the name of Bhavani, this goddess designates the fecundity of nature. She is invoked, as was Isis, by women in childbirth.

The same Hindoo goddess is worshipped under the form of Jagaddhatri, or Mother of the World. She is represented in that character as sitting on a lion, and holding in her four hands a conch, a disc, a club, and a water-lily.

Her peculiar emblem, the *Yoni*, is as well known as was the *Cteis*, in the Eleusinian mysteries.

The last circumstance I shall notice is the veneration of the Cow, as connected with the worship of Isis in Egypt, and of Bhagavati, or Bhavani, in India.

The Cow is regarded in India as a form of Bhagavati,† as, in Egypt, of Isis the beneficent. It is also remarkable that Nephthys, the Egyptian Venus Urania, was also worshipped under the form of a Cow, and that Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, who corresponds with her in all the particulars that history has preserved, bears a similar relation to this sacred animal.

The Brahmans perform a ceremony, by which they fancy that certain spiritual privileges are conferred.

Maia was her appellation, as the terrestrial goddess, mother of Earth, the nurse of all living creatures. See Porphyrius, de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 16.

* Moor's Hindoo Pantheon.

† Ward, vol. i. p. 123.

This process is considered as a kind of regeneration. It consists in passing through the body of a golden Cow. It has been remarked that the story of Mycerinus probably contains vestiges of the same practice among the old Egyptians.*

It is not our design merely to furnish a parallel between these two systems, the relations of which seem tolerably obvious. The reader who wishes to pursue this subject will find much curious information in the works of Sir W. Jones, Mr. Paterson, Mr. Wilford, the Rev. Mr. Maurice, and several other well-known authors.

Enough, I trust, have been said to show that the most celebrated and striking part of the Egyptian ceremonies, those for example which attracted the attention of the whole Pagan world, and spread themselves over a great part of it, including the pompous worship of Isis and Osiris, are nearly related, in the most essential circumstances, to that system of Indian superstitions which belongs to the depraved religion of Siva and his consort Bhavani. This system we have assigned, in our historical outline, to the third era, when the idolatry of the East had attained its utmost degree of corruption.

* See the story of Mycerinus, who enclosed his daughter in the body of a golden Cow. Herodotus, lib. ii. This coincidence has been remarked by Mr. Forbes. Oriental Memoirs.

SECTION III.

Indian Fables relating to Vishnu, compared with the Egyptian Mythology.

In the foregoing outline of the history of Hindoo Mythology, it was considered that the worship of Vishnu, or at least the religion of the present Vaishnavas,* had perhaps a still later origin, than those forms of superstition which we have been comparing with the Egyptian rites of Isis and Osiris. The fables of the Puranas, respecting the incarnations of Vishnu, do not appear to have made their way into the Egyptian mythology, nor do we find in Egypt any clear and undoubted vestiges of the superstition assigned to this era.

In the character however of Horus, or Aroueris, the restorer of the universe, the god of light, there are some traits which correspond with the description of Vishnu, or Heri the preserver.

"Vishnu is a personification of the Sun, or conversely the Sun is a type of him: this character, as

* I say the religion of the present Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, who worship his incarnations, Rama, Crishna, &c. or, in other words, are hero-worshippers. Vishnu, as one of the three manifestations of the divinity, holds his place in the Vedas, though he is not so conspicuous there as Brahma, the creative power; but the Vishnu of later times differs in many respects from the Vishnu of the oldest tradition.

well as that of *Time*, he shares with Brahma and Siva. In Hindoo mythology, every thing is indeed the Sun. Vishnu is sometimes the earth: he is water, or the humid principle generally: hence he is air, which the Hindoos regard as a form of humidity."*

Horus likewise was the Sun under some particular relation: Osiris, indeed, and other Egyptian gods, bear a near relation to the Sun, but Horus in a more peculiar manner: hence the Greeks called him Apollo. Hermapion, in the interpretation of the famous inscription on the Heliopolitan Obelisk, finds Horus called the supreme lord and author of Time.† Horus, in the form of the infant Harpocrates, is seen sitting on a lotus flower, intimating, as we have seen, the germinating principle, the influence of moisture and solar heat.

Garuda, the sacred eagle, is the bird of Vishnu: seated on him, the god soars aloft in the air. "This marks," says Mr. Moor, "the aerial levity of his character."

More than one species of hawk, and several other birds, were sacred in Egypt to Horus. The hawk, which soars upwards towards the Sun without appearing to be dazzled by its beams, was in a peculiar manner the type or sacred messenger of Horus.

Horus, as before observed, was described in his turn as the Pantheus, or soul of universal Nature. The same conception of Vishnu is found in the Sri Bhagavat and other Hindoo works written by Vaishnavas.

* Moor's Hindoo Pantheon, art. Vishnu.

† Ammian. Marcellinus.

Notwithstanding these points of resemblance, it may be doubted whether Horus can be clearly identified with Vishnu. Horus seems to have been a very exact copy of Osiris. Like Osiris, he was a Priapus: the fundamental idea of Horus seems to have been that of a restorer of the productions of Nature, of which Osiris was the generator. Hence his history forms almost a repetition of that of Osiris. The religion of Vishnu, according to the conjecture of M. Schlegel, was introduced into the Indian system from Persia, and was connected with the worship of the Persian Mithra. However this may have been, it does not appear that this part of the mythology was as yet fully developed at that remote period, when the Egyptian and Indian systems were connected by a close affinity.

There is indeed a curious though imperfect coincidence between the Egyptian and Indian Triads. Osiris, Typhon, and Horus, are in some way related to Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu. The notion of a Triad of supreme powers is indeed common to most ancient religions; but what proves that there is some particular connection between the Indian and Egyptian Triads, is the fable that the three gods of each system were of three different colours. In the Hindoo mythology, Brahma is red, Vishnu black, and Siva white.* In the Egyptian, as Plutarch informs us, Osiris was always black, Horus white, and Typhon red. The essential difference between the Indian and Egyptian Triad is the circumstance that, in the former, the Creator has still a place; while in the Egyptian,

* Paterson, Asiatic Researches.

although this mythology acknowledged a creator of the world, yet he had fallen from his place in the Triad, which was filled up entirely with merely sensual and physical gods, or figures of the powers of nature. We are obliged to search more deeply into the Egyptian mythology, in order to find the doctrine of creation, or a creator: the exterior is occupied with the more striking superstitions that relate to the objects of sense, as the popular worship was directed towards visible and tangible objects.

There is one fable relating to Vishnu, which bears a curious resemblance to one of the most remarkable fictions in the Egyptian mythology. I mean the story of his sleeping through the four wintry-months, and rising in the spring; an allegory founded on his relation to the Sun. This fiction strongly reminds us of the annual disappearance and resurrection of the solar Osiris. Vishnu sleeps from the twelfth or fifteenth of the moon in the month Asharha, corresponding with December, until the twelfth or fifteenth in Kartika, which corresponds with April.* The ceremonies, which are performed in commemoration of his sleep, bear some resemblance to the Egyptian customs. A Hindoo vows that no razor shall come on his head; that he will abstain from flesh, fish, salt, peas, oil, &c. and from eating more than once a day during this whole period; and he engages to attend more minutely than before to his daily duties, such as bathing, and repeating the name of his god.† These observances are similar to those practised by the Egyptians, during

* Ward, vol. ii. p. 27.

† Ibid. p. 26.

their periods of fasting and purification.* The Hindoos observe a strict fast on the eleventh of the increase of the Moon, in Sravana, Bhadra, and Kartika.† On the former of these days, Vishnu goes to sleep: on the second he turns to the other side, and on the third he awakes. These observances may be compared with the winter-festivals, connected with the concealment and re-appearance of the Egyptian god, respecting which we have already selected ample details.

SECTION IV.

Esoteric Philosophy of the Egyptians, compared with the Doctrines of the Hindoos, in the earliest period.

The most celebrated fables of the Egyptians, and nearly the whole of their popular worship, are nearly related, as we have seen, to the rites of Siva and Bhavani, and other superstitions which we suppose to have had their origin about the same period. It is only in the more recondite parts of the Egyptian mythology, which are chiefly known to us by means of a few fragments preserved in the works of philosophers and metaphysical writers, that we trace any resemblance to the older doctrines of the Hindoos, respecting the creation of the world, and the emanation of subordinate beings from the essence of an eternal spirit.

* These observances will be noticed in the following Book.

† Ward, vol. ii. p. 76.

But in those imperfect fragments of the Egyptian cosmogony, and of their theology, properly so called, which have escaped the wrecks of time, we are enabled to discover all the leading principles so fully developed in the ancient Hindoo Scriptures.

The sum of the Egyptian doctrine, as we have shown above, is, that a spiritual being, without parts, and incomprehensible, existed from all eternity. From his essence, at a certain period, a finite being originated, who became the demiurgus, or creator, and from him all inferior souls emanated. Not only is this doctrine to be traced in the East, but all the circumstances connected with it, and the peculiar style of representation.

1. The eternal spirit termed Cnuphis, or Cneph, produced the universe in its chaotic state, which is figured under the emblem of an egg. At the same time he assumed a new form, or gave origin to Phtha, the Egyptian Vulcan, or Artificer of the fabric: by whom the chaotic egg was separated into its elements, and air and earth, and other creatures, were called forth. Cnuphis corresponds with the Indian Brahme, and Phtha with Brahma. The Hindoo doctrine is contained in the following verses of Menu's Cosmogony.

"He whom the mind alone can perceive, imperceptible to sense, invisible, who exists from eternity—even He, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.

He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed:

"That seed became an EGG, *bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams;** and in that egg he was born himself in the form of BRAHMA, the great forefather of all spirits.

"In that Egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself. *And from its two divisions he framed the heaven above, and the earth beneath.*"

The Egyptians, even in their cosmogony, could not resist the propensity to material and sensual analogies. Phtha, the framer of the world, the sole parent of all things, was, forsooth, of a double sex. We have before traced this figure in works of undoubted authority, and may now quote the Asclepian dialogue ascribed to Hermes, in which the god is twice called Masculo-feminine: "Hic ergo," he says "qui solus est omnia, utriusque sexus fœcunditate plenissimus, semper voluntatis suæ prægnans, parit semper quidquid voluerit procreare."

Thus the demiurgus is represented as becoming the parent of all kinds of beings, rather than as creating them.

This fiction is found in Menu's cosmogony, and in

* Compare this description with the Orphic fable, as it is displayed in the following expressions, translated above, in page 166.

τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος Ὠὸν·
ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινὸς
στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις.

various other Indian writings.* The following is a passage selected from the Rig-veda, in which the same idea is curiously expanded.

"The primeval being, looking round, saw nothing but himself" — "He felt not delight. He wished the existence of another, and instantly he became such as man and woman joined. He caused this, his own self to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife: thence were human beings produced."

"She reflected, doubtingly, 'I will now assume a disguise.' She became a Cow, and the other became a Bull—the issue were kine. She was changed into a Mare, and he into a Horse: one was turned into a female Ass, and the other into a male one, and the one-hoofed kind were the offspring." The author continues to enumerate their metamorphoses into goats and sheep, and concludes, "In this manner did he create every existing pair whatsoever, even to the ants and minutest insects."†

We have already shown that the Hindoos, at least as early as the age of the Vedas, though they acknowledged a Creator, confounded him with his works, and included the universe itself in their idea of the divinity. That the Egyptians were Pantheists, even in this sense, and identified the soul of the world with the eternal deity, may be seen from the remarks on their cosmogony, in the foregoing part of this work. Such is the dogma which Plutarch

* The Tantras teach that after Brahma had entered the world, he divided himself into male and female. Ward.

† Colebrooke on the Vedas, A. R. vol. viii. I have omitted some words in this quotation, "euphemiæ gratiâ."

cites from Hecatæus. "They consider," says this writer, "the primitive god as identified with the universe itself."

Notwithstanding this vague and indistinct manner of conception, the Hindoo scriptures contain the doctrine of the creation of the world in its proper sense; as it is probable that the Egyptian did also. The following hymn, from the Rig-veda, declares this tenet in terms which remind us of the beginning of Genesis.

"The Supreme Being alone existed; afterwards there was universal darkness; next the watery ocean was produced by the diffusion of virtue: then did the Creator, lord of the universe, rise out of the ocean, and successively frame the Sun and Moon, which govern day and night, whence proceeds the revolution of years; and after them he framed heaven and earth, the space between, and the celestial region."†

We have seen that the Egyptians, by a strange inconsistency, declare, in some of the parts of their mythology, the Sun to be the demiurgus; and that they frequently identify the Sun with the Soul of the world. In the Rig-veda we find that "the great Soul, Mahan Atma, is called the Sun, for he is the soul of all beings, and that it is declared by the sage that the Sun is the soul of what moves and of that which is fixed." Other deities are portions of him.†

From this soul of the universe, or primitive spirit,

* Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p 367.

† Colebrooke on the Vedas, Asiat. Resear. vol viii. p. 397.

all individual souls emanated. This dogma, as we see in passages already cited, is common to the mythology of Egypt, and the oldest remains of the oriental doctrine.

It is worthy of remark that the worship of the Supreme God is scarcely mentioned in the history of the Egyptians. We learn, indeed, from Plutarch, that the people of Elephantine refused to contribute to the support of the sacred animals, because they paid their adorations to no other deity than Cneph, the eternal spirit; but this seems to have been a vestige of antiquity, and of opinions which had long been obsolete among the more celebrated divisions of the Egyptian people. Phthas, or Vulcan, the secondary god, or demiurgus, had some temples at a late period in Lower Egypt, but his rites were eclipsed by the more splendid worship of Isis and Osiris; and he was reckoned, in the theogonies of Manethon, as the oldest of the gods. In India also, Brahma, the demiurgus, is the god of antiquity, and has no temples or appropriate worship among the modern Hindoos; and Brahme, the eternal spirit, who, as we have seen, is Cneph under another name, is still further removed from the adorations of the people.

SECTION V.

General Inferences respecting the Origin and History of Mythology.

From the survey and comparison of all the information we can collect relating to the history of superstition in Egypt and in the East, we are led to the following general reflections on the original state and subsequent revolutions of mythology and metaphysical doctrines in these departments of the ancient world.

1. It appears that the priests and sages of the Egyptians, as well as those of India, in the earliest ages which fall within the reach of profane history, acknowledged one eternal principle as the source whence all other beings had originally emanated, and with which all or a part were destined, after intervals of greater or shorter duration, to become again in some manner re-united ; that this first principle is described in the oldest remains of the philosophy of both nations as a spiritual and incomprehensible being, endowed with intellect and power, to the voluntary exertion of which the production of all finite beings is attributed. It must therefore be allowed, that the mythology of these nations contains the belief in the existence of a Deity, in the sense in which that word is understood among Christians and European philosophers in general.

If we are permitted to regard those principles, which are common to nearly all the ancient systems

of mythology, as the original possession of mankind, we must allow the doctrine above described, or a species of theism nearly resembling it, to have been among the elements of the primitive faith, or the first system of religion that prevailed; for we trace the same, or very similar tenets, in the religious creed of all those nations who have possessed sufficient art and refinement to preserve any memorials of early times. To the Hindoos and the Egyptians we may add the Persians, the Chinese, and the Scandinavians, the Celtic people, or those tribes subjected to the authority of the Druids, and several other nations.

2. This doctrine was not merely, as some writers have pretended, a theory of speculative philosophy; but a system of religion in the proper sense. It contemplated in the Deity, not merely the author of the universe, but a moral governor of the world, whose dispensations were so arranged as to reward the virtuous and take vengeance on the guilty. It represented the present embodied state of intelligent beings as a scene of purgatorial chastisement, and the destined means of their restoration to primitive innocence and happiness, or of re-union to the source whence they were derived.

Indeed, a very important feature in this ancient system of philosophy is the conspicuous place it assigns to the immortality of the soul, and the firm and implicit faith with which this dogma was received. "The belief in a future state, which prevailed among the oriental people in the earliest times of history, was not, as it has been remarked, a persuasion founded on probable arguments, or an inference discovered by long reflection; nor did it consist in

the distant glances of a bold imagination into an undefined world of shadows; but it was the clear assurance of realities so certain and impressive, that the contemplation of futurity formed the rule by which all the affairs of this life were to be governed—the scope towards which all the social customs and ordinances of civil life were to be directed, even to the most minute observances."* "The Egyptians," says Diodorus, "regarded this world as a transitory scene, and the future state as an abode for ever; hence they were content to dwell in hovels, but anxious to adorn their tombs with much labour and magnificence, regarding them as eternal mansions."

3. While we are directing our attention to the earliest doctrines respecting the Deity, we must not omit to remark one singular circumstance which has attracted the notice of many theologians and investigators of antiquity. If those principles which are common to the oldest systems of religion are to be considered as elements of the primitive faith, we must ascribe to the theism of the first ages a triple distribution of divine attributes, or the dogma of a triad of persons or manifestations of divinity. We shall not pretend to investigate the relation of this obscure tradition with that doctrine, respecting the Divine Nature and the modes of its subsistence, which distinguishes Christian theology from the simple theism of speculative writers. Such a disquisition would be foreign to our present purpose. We have only to mention the doctrine of a divine Triad as one of the common characters of the most ancient systems of gentile theology.

* Schlegel, Sprache und Weisheit der Indier.

It cannot be expected that we should here enter into a long discussion respecting the origin of this primitive religion. If this subject were followed into the speculations which it might open to our view, it would lead us very far from the principal purpose of this work. We shall, therefore, dismiss it with one or two brief remarks.

If the earliest religion were the production of the human faculties,—if it had been elaborated by the reason and imagination of men, we should doubtless observe it in the grossest and most sensual, in the rudest and most imperfect state, in the first periods of society: it would be found to assume a more refined character, as the human mind became more cultivated. But the very reverse of this is true in point of fact. The earliest faith was pure and simple, exhibited comprehensive and exalted conceptions of the Deity, and contained the most awful and impressive sanctions of morality. In subsequent periods it appears to become continually more depraved and sensual. Another remarkable circumstance is the deep and powerful impression which the religion of the first ages displays on the minds of its devotees, and its paramount influence over the whole national and personal character of the people who were submitted to its institutions. Nor is it less important to observe that the voice of all history, both sacred and profane, agrees in ascribing this influence, and the implicit faith with which the dogmas of religion were received, to their supernatural origin, and to the circumstances under which they had been revealed by the Deity to the human race.

The first step towards the corruption of this simple form of theology seems to have been the attempt to

adorn it with the figments of philosophy, according to that style of philosophizing that was suited to the genius of the age. It is to this period that we must refer most of the pagan cosmogonies. Many of them contain the doctrine that the world was created by the voluntary agency of the Supreme; but this idea was not enough to satisfy curiosity, and we find it often blended with some fanciful analogies derived from natural processes that are daily observed. The production of the organized world was compared by some to the germination of seeds; an idea which occurs in the Institutes of Menu, and in some of the representations of the Grecian schools. Hence also the celebrated fiction of the Mundane Egg, or the egg produced spontaneously in the womb of Erebus, containing in itself the elements which were afterwards distributed into the various departments of the world.

To the same childish fondness for analogies and illustrations we must attribute that description of the demiurgus, or creative power, which represents him as comprising in himself two sexes, and producing all subordinate creatures by the way of generation. On this subject enough has been said in the foregoing pages.

Another important step in the progress of superstition, and one which seems to have led the way to the establishment of the first pagan worship, was the habit of resolving the doctrine of emanation into those descriptions of the deity which verge towards pantheism. These two theories are so nearly allied, that the former naturally degenerates into the latter, while the pantheistic representation of the divinity involves

or leads inevitably to the deification of material beings, and particularly of the more striking and conspicuous objects in the visible universe. To the same style of philosophy belong the personification of the most remarkable powers of nature, the consecration of emblems, some of them the most obscene, as types or symbols of those powers; the decorated pomps and gorgeous superstitions of the pagan world, and all the prodigious abominations in which a corrupt religion emulated and exceeded the actual depravity of men. All these innovations produced a mist which darkened the eyes of the victims of superstition, and concealed from them those principles which were still recognized by the learned as the basis of their religious system.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

OF THE EXOTERIC OR POPULAR WORSHIP OF THE EGYPTIANS, AND OF THE VARIOUS CIVIL INSTITUTIONS EMANATING FROM THEIR RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

SECTION I.

Introductory Remarks.

THERE was no single feature in the character and customs of the ancient Egyptians which appeared to foreigners so strange and portentous as the religious worship paid to animals. The pompous processions and grotesque ceremonies of this celebrated people excited the admiration of all spectators, and that admiration was turned into ridicule on beholding the object of their devotions. It was remarked by Clemens and Origen,* that those who visited Egypt approached with delight its sacred groves and splendid temples, adorned with superb vestibules and lofty porticos, the scenes of many solemn and mysterious rites. "The walls," says Clemens, "shine with gold and silver, and with amber, and sparkle with the various gems of India and Æthiopia; and the recesses are concealed by splendid curtains. But if you enter the penetralia, and inquire for the image of the god, for whose sake the fane was built, one of the Pastophori, or some other attendant on the temple, approaches with a solemn and mysterious aspect, and, putting aside the veil, suffers you to peep in and obtain a glimpse of the

* Clemens. Pædag. lib. iii. Origen. adv. Celsum. lib. iii. p. 121.

divinity. There you behold a snake, a crocodile, or a cat, or some other beast, a fitter inhabitant of a cavern or a bog than of a temple." A similar remark was made by Lucian; and Juvenal, in his fifteenth satire, derides the folly of the Egyptians, whose priests in his time had degenerated into a tribe of jugglers.

"Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.
* * * * * * * *
Porrum et cœpe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!"

It is in the rites of animal worship that the exoteric or popular character of the Egyptian superstition most clearly developes itself. It is in these rites that we are enabled to discern the practical tendency of this ancient species of paganism, and to estimate the moral effects it was calculated to produce upon the people devoted to its influence. This is not less important, if we wish to understand the true character of the mythology, than the analysis of philosophical enigmas, in which the vulgar were in no way interested, and to the true sense of which they were not admitted. We shall therefore proceed, in the following pages, to assemble the most remarkable facts which the ancient writers have handed down to us, with reference to this subject.

SECTION II.

Of the Veneration paid to Animals in general.

The devotion with which their sacred animals were regarded by the Egyptians, displayed itself in the most whimsical absurdities. It was a capital crime to kill any of them voluntarily;* but if an Ibis or a Hawk were accidentally destroyed, the unfortunate author of the deed was put to death by the multitude, without form of law. In order to avoid suspicion of such an impious act, and the speedy fate which often ensued, a man, who chanced to meet with the carcase of such a bird, began immediately to wail and lament with the utmost vociferation, and to protest that he found it already dead.† When a house happened to be set on fire, the chief alarm of the Egyptians arose from the propensity of the cats, which Herodotus calls "*a divine instinct,*" to rush into the flames over the heads or between the legs of the spectators: if this catastrophe took place, it excited a general lamentation. At the death of a cat, every inmate of the house cut off his eye-brows; but at the funeral of a dog, he shaved his head and whole body.‡ The carcases of all the cats were salted, and carried to Bubastos to be interred;§ and it is said that many Egyptians arriving from warlike expeditions to foreign countries, were known to bring with them dead cats and hawks, which they had met with accidentally, and had salted and

* Herodotus, ii. c. 65. Diod. lib. i. p. 74.
† Diod. lib. i. p. 75. ‡ Herod. lib. ii. c. 66.
§ Herodotus, c. 67.

prepared for sepulture, with much pious grief and lamentation.* In the extremity of famine, when they were driven by hunger to devour each other, the Egyptians were never accused of touching the sacred animals.

Every nome in Egypt paid a particular worship to the animal that was consecrated to its tutelar god; but there were certain species which the whole nation held in great reverence. These were, the ox, the dog, and the cat; the hawk and the ibis; and the fishes termed oxyrhynchus and lepidotus.†

In each nome the whole species of animals, to the worship of which it was dedicated, was held in great respect; but one favoured individual was selected to receive the adoration of the multitude, and supply the place of an image of the god. Perhaps this is not far from the sense in which Strabo distinguishes the *sacred* from the *divine* animals. Thus, in the nome of Arsinöe, where crocodiles were sacred, one individual of this species was kept in the temple and worshipped as a god. He was tamed, and watched with great care by the priests, who called him "Souchos," and he ate meat and cakes which were offered to him by strangers.‡ In the same neighbourhood there was a pond appropriated to the feeding of crocodiles, with which it was filled, the Arsinöites carefully abstaining from hurting any of them. Sacred bulls were kept in several towns and villages, and nothing was spared that seemed to contribute to the enjoyment of these horned gods which were pampered in the utmost luxury.

* Diod. lib. i. c. 6.

† Strabon. Geograph. lib. xvii. ‡ Ibid.

SECTION III.

Of the Worship of Quadrupeds.

1. *Of Oxen.*

Of all animals, the ox kind received in Egypt the highest honours. No individual of this species was ever slaughtered merely for the sake of food. Bulls were occasionally killed in sacrifice, but cows were exempted even from that peril.* They were sacred to Isis; and so impious and polluted were all those who ate the flesh of the cow, that no Egyptian man or woman would use the knife or pot of a Greek, or approach his person. When a cow died, they committed her carcase to the sacred river; but they buried bulls in the suburbs, with one or both horns above ground for a mark; and when a stated time had elapsed, during which the flesh was thought to have rotted away, a vessel was sent from the island of Prosopitis in the Delta, with people whose office it was to dig up the bones and carry them to an appointed place, where they were all buried.†

Such was the respect paid throughout Egypt to the whole kind; but there were individuals of this species that claimed a singular veneration. The bulls Apis and Mnevis were the highest in this rank: the former was kept in a temple at Memphis, and the latter at Heliopolis; and, according to Diodorus, they were

* Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 41. † Ibid.

both sacred to Osiris. Strabo says, they were not *sacred*, but *divine*.

Apis was a black bull, but had a white star on his forehead, the figure of an eagle on his back, and, according to Pliny, a crescent on his right side,* with a knot under his tongue, resembling the Scarabæus or sacred beetle.† But Ælian declares, that the body of Apis was decorated with twenty-nine sacred marks, to each of which, the Egyptians assigned some mystical import, not easy, as this author says, to be understood by profane persons. One of these was a symbol of the increase of the Nile; another was a microcosm or representation of the world; a third contained a mystic allusion to that darkness which existed before light was brought forth.‡

Apis was the offspring of the celestial elements. His mother was supposed to be impregnated by a flash of lightning, or, according to Plutarch, by the light of the Moon.§ He lived twenty-five years, which is well known to have been the duration of a celebrated cycle in the Egyptian method of chronology; and at the end of this period he was reported to destroy himself by jumping into a well, or, as some said, into the Nile. To this catastrophe Statius alludes. ‖

> "Say, in what meads the godlike Apis deigns
> To browze before the crowd of suppliant swains,
> Till, headlong mid the sacred waters hurl'd,
> Sated with life, he quits the grieving world?"

* Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. viii. † Herod. lib. iii. c. 28.
‡ Ælian de Animal. lib. ii. c. 10. § Plut. de Isid.
‖ Statii Sylvarum, lib. ii. carm. ii. v. 115. Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. lib. iv. cap. 2, p. 199.

The discovery of a new Apis gave rise to a joyful festival, which was called Theophania, or the manifestation of the god; it continued seven days. Ælian, a diligent collector of these stories of superstition, which he seems to be sometimes in doubt whether to laugh at, or to regard with wonder and veneration, has given us the following account of the proceedings which took place on the discovery of a new Apis.*

"As soon as a report has been spread abroad that the Egyptian god has been brought to light, certain sacred scribes, who are well versed in the mystical marks, which they have learnt by tradition, approach the spot where the divine Cow has deposited her calf, and there, following the ancient prescript of Hermes, feed it during four months with milk, in a house which fronts the rising sun. After this period of infancy, if it may be so called, has passed, the sacred scribes and prophets resort to the dwelling of Apis, at the time of the new moon, and, placing him in a vessel prepared for the purpose, convey him to Memphis, where he has a convenient and delightful abode, with pleasure-grounds and ample space for salubrious exercise. Companions are provided for him, the females of his own species. He drinks out of a well or fountain of clear water; for it is not judged expedient to admit him to the water of the Nile, which is considered as too fattening. It would be too long to relate," continues Ælian, "what pompous processions and sacred ceremonies the Egyptians perform when they celebrate the rising of the Nile, or the Theophania, in

* Ælian, loc. citat.

honour of this god; or what dances, and festivities, and joyful assemblies, are appointed on this occasion, in the town and in the country. The man from whose flock the divine beast has sprung is the happiest of mortals, and is looked upon with admiration by all the people. This Apis," continues Ælian, " is an excellent interpreter of futurity. He does not employ a woman sitting upon a tripod, like some other gods, or require that a priestess shall be intoxicated with the sacred potion; but inspires boys, who play around his stable, with the divine impulse, which enables them to pour out predictions in good rhythm."

Apis, after his tragic fate before related, was honoured with a pompous funeral in the temple of Serapis, at Memphis; and the priests followed him to his tomb, in a procession, with ceremonies which, according to Plutarch, resembled the rites of Bacchus among the Greeks.*

" Next to the Memphite Apis, the highest honours were paid to the sacred Bull of Heliopolis, called Mnevis."† This bull, which was dedicated to Osiris, was of the same colour as that god, viz. black."‡ Respecting Apis, there is some difference of opinion among the ancients; some writers affirming that he was dedicated to the Moon; though the more accurate writers, as Diodorus and Strabo, declare, on the contrary, that Apis and Osiris were the same; but it is agreed, on all hands, that Mnevis belonged to

* Plut. de Isid. cap. 33.

† See Strabo, lib. xvii. Ælian. lib. xi. cap. 11.

‡ Plut. de Isid. cap.

Osiris, or to the Sun. Strabo says that he was kept in a stable, which seems to have been in the temple of the Sun, and that he was worshipped as a god by the Heliopolitans, as Apis was by the Memphites.

Among the sacred bulls of inferior note, Strabo mentions one which was kept at Hermonthis.* And Macrobius informs us that this animal was called Pacis;† that it was consecrated to the Sun in a magnificent temple of Apollo, and distinguished by its colour, which was said to change every hour, and by the direction of its hair which was reversed.

Ælian mentions a sacred bull, worshipped under the name of Onuphis.‡ He says it was of huge bulk, and had its hair reversed; a characteristic assigned also to Mnevis.§

Respecting the sacred cows of the Egyptians, we have nothing to add to the observations given already, in reference to the rites of Isis and the worship of Nephthys. We now proceed to

2. *The Worship of Dogs.*‖

The dog, as we have seen, was sacred to Anubis, and was chiefly worshipped at Cynopolis, or the city of dogs; but as the rites of Anubis were every where connected with those in honour of Isis, the dog received veneration throughout Egypt: and dogs

* Strabo, lib. xvii. † Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21.

‡ Ælian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

§ Porphyr, apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 13.

‖ Sacred Dogs were kept in the temple of Vulcan, in Sicily. Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 3.

accompanied the celebrated Pompa Isiaca, or the procession in honour of the horned goddess.

Many ridiculous reasons are assigned for the reverence paid to the dog kind. Ælian has given us a collection of them. Some said that it arose from the idea that young dogs are blind for thirteen days after they are whelped, and the Moon is dark thirteen days in the year. Others connected the worship of the dog with the important station of the dog-star in the Egyptian calendar.*

3. *Of the Worship of Cats.*

Cats were chiefly worshipped at Bubastos. We have already mentioned the anxiety manifested by the Egyptians to procure for dead cats, wherever they found them, the rites of sepulture.

The Egyptians discovered something peculiarly venerable in dogs and cats, as we learn from the epithets applied to them.

Per tua sistra precor, per Anubidis ora verenda.

And

Sancta Bubastis—"The holy Bubastis."

Such was the epithet of the cat-goddess.†

Plutarch says there is a wonderful sympathy between the pupil of the cat's eye, and the increase and waning of the Moon; and a mysterious relation

* Ælian de Animal, lib. x. cap. 45.

† Ovid, Amor. lib. ii. eleg. 13. Metam. lib. ix. v. 687.

between the number of young a cat bears at one litter, and the number of the lunar days; and by these analogies, we are told that the Egyptians accounted for the strange veneration in which this animal was held among them.*

Horapollo says, the statue of the Sun at Heliopolis, was in the figure of a cat; but he is the only author who makes this assertion. The cat is by all other writers assigned exclusively to Bubastis and the Moon.†

4. *Worship of the Wolf.*

The wolf was worshipped at Lycopolis, as the name of that city imports.

We learn from Ælian, that the wolf was sacred to Apollo, that is, to Horus. The reason of this consecration is, because Apollo was born of Latona, or, as the Egyptians said, nursed by her in the form of a wolf. For this reason also, a statue of a wolf stood in the temple of Apollo, at Delphi.‡

5. *Worship of the Ram.*

The ram was held sacred at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and at Sais, in the Delta.§ "Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter," says Herodotus, "abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats.‖

* Plut. de Isid. † Horap. Hierog. lib. i. cap. 10.

‡ Ælian, lib. x. cap. 26. § Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 559.

‖ Herod. ii. 42.

They assigned, as a reason for this custom, a story, the purport of which is unintelligible, that Jupiter, or Ammon, disguised himself in a sheep-skin when he appeared to Hercules. The Thebans never killed a ram, except at the annual festival of Ammon, when they clothed the statue of the god with the skin. This statue had the human form, with the head of a ram.*

"In the Nitriotic nome," says Strabo, "Serapis is worshipped, and here only sheep are sacrificed by the Egyptians."

6. *Of the Worship of the Goat.*

The worship of the Mendesian goat was one of the most singular parts of the Egyptian superstition. These rites were as abominable as the adoration of cats and dogs was ridiculous.

The male-goat was worshipped, as we have seen, as an image of the same power which the Greeks personified with the title of Priapus. One he-goat represented the god Pan, and was kept in the temple of Mendes, but all the species was sacred through the nome.

Strabo gives us, in a few words, an idea of the rites of Mendes. *Ὡ'ς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησιν, ὁι τράγοι ἐνταῦθα γυναιξὶ μίγνυνται:* The passage of Pindar, to which the geographer refers, is the following:—

Μένδητα παρὰ κρημνὸν θαλάσσης
Νέιλου κέρας, αἰγίβατοι
'Οθι τράγοι γυναιξὶ μίσγονται.†

* Herod. loc. cit. † Apud Strabon. lib. xvii. p. 551.

This detestable custom was therefore as ancient as Pindar, who lived five centuries before the Christian era, and probably it was much more ancient.

Herodotus confirms this account, but he mentions it as a rare and portentous occurrence. Plutarch makes a curious remark upon this subject. Ὁ Μενδήσιος ἐν Αιγύπτῳ τράγος, λέγεται πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς συνειργνύμενος γυναιξὶ, οὐκ εἶναι μίγνυσθαι πρόθυμος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς αἶγας ἐπτοήται μᾶλλον. On which Bochart properly remarks, "Nempe sola in brutis Natura sæpe plus potest quam in homine ratio."

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum!

7. *Of the Worship of the Deer.*

At Coptos, where Isis was adored with a great exhibition of attachment and devout grief, the Egyptians consecrated to her wild deers, and worshipped them. The same people held it no crime to kill and eat the male of the same species.†

8. *Of the Worship of Monkeys and Apes.*

It appears that two animals of the monkey-tribe were worshipped in Egypt, for Strabo informs us that the Babylonians adored a Cepus, and the Hermopolitans a Cynocephalus. *Cynocephalus* has

* These authorities are cited by Bochart. Hierozoic. lib. ii. p. 642; and from him by Jablonski.

† Ælian, lib. x. cap. 23.

been supposed to be the name of an image of Anubis,* with the head of a dog, joined to the body of a man; but this is evidently a mistake. Both the Cynocephalus and the Cepus are described by Ælian,† and by Aristotle. Aristotle, after mentioning both these animals, remarks that the Cepus has a tail.‡ Hence it would appear that the Cynocephalus must have been an ape.

Horapollo says that the Cynocephalus was sacred to Hermes, because one tribe of these animals was supposed to understand the use of letters, and that when a new monkey was introduced into the temple, to supply the place of his predecessor, the priests tried whether he was competent to the dignity conferred upon him, by placing a writing-tablet, with a pen and ink before him.§

We know nothing further respecting the worship of these animals. Perhaps the Hermopolitans consecrated an ape to Hermes on account of its sagacity.

9. *Of the Ichneumon.*

The ichneumon was worshipped at Heracleopolis,‖

* Minut. Felix. Octavio, cap. 21. Tertullian, Apolog. cap. vi. These writers call Anubis, Cynocephalus. It would seem that Plutarch also called Anubis, Cynocephalus; Isis et Osiris, cap. 73.

† Ælian, de Animal. lib. x. cap. 30. lib. xvii. cap. 8.

‡ Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. ii. cap. 8.

§ Horap. i. cap. 14.

‖ Strabo, lib. xvii. Ælian, lib. x. cap. 47.

where it probably represented Hercules. Ælian says it was sacred to Latona and Lucina, that is to Buto and Bubastis.

10. *Of the Shrew-Mouse.*

The shrew-mouse, or mygale,* was a goddess of no small importance in Egypt, since, under this form Latona or Buto was worshipped. The Greeks assign the imagined blindness of this animal as the reason for dedicating it to the goddess of night, or darkness. The shrew-mouse was worshipped in the Athribitic nome.†

11. *Of the Lion.*

The lion was worshipped at Leontopolis; but we have no particular account of the rites paid to it.‡

12. *Of the Hippopotamos.*

The hippopotamos was sacred to Papremis, or Mars, and was worshipped in the Papremitic nome, but in no other part of Egypt. Papremis appears to have been a form of Typhon. Accordingly the hippopotamos was one of the animals called Typhonian.§

The ass was another Typhonian animal,‖ but it

* Sorex Araneus, or shrew-mouse. Linn. Syst. Nat.

† Strabo.

‡ Strabo, lib. xvii. Porphyr. lib. iv. cap. 9. De Abstinentia.

§ See the foregoing section on Papremis. ‖ Plut. de Iside·

does not appear to have received worship in any part of Egypt. At Coptos it was the custom, on certain occasions to throw an ass down a precipice, in order to express detestation of Typhon.*

13. *Of Impure Animals.*

The Oryx was considered by the Egyptians as impure, for a reason as ridiculous as any part of these mystical absurdities—"ὁτὶ ατοστράφεις τρὸς τὴν ανατολὴν, τὴν τοῦ Ηλίου, τὰ τεριττὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τροφῆς ἐκβλίβει ὡς φασὶν οἱ Αιγυπτίοι—quia ad orientem solem conversus alvum dejicit.† Other equally strange notions were entertained respecting the oryx; as that he turned to the East and gave notice of the rising of the dog-star by sneezing,‡ as if he scented it in the air: that he uttered a sound at the time when the moon rises like a voice of execration.§

The hog, according to Ælian, was an impure animal, because he does not abstain from eating his own offspring.‖ Herodotus says that swine were held so impure, that a person who had been accidentally touched by an animal of that kind immediately went to wash himself, with his clothes, in a river.¶ Swineherds were refused admittance into the Egyptian temples, and formed a distinct caste, with whom other persons refused to intermarry. Yet at the full

* Ælian, de Animal. lib. x. cap. 28. See also Horapollo, lib. i. cap. 49.

† Plinii. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 40.

‡ Plut. in lib. utra anim.

§ Ælian, lib x. cap. 16.

‖ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 47.

¶ Plutarch de Isid. cap. 30.

moon, the Egyptians were accustomed to sacrifice swine to that planet, and to eat the flesh.

The Greek mythologists preserve some traces of the consecration of other animals, which we do not discover in the Egyptian theocracy, though it is probable that they once had places in it. The bitch was the sacred animal of Hecate, as well as the lioness, the bull, and the horse; the she-wolf, of Diana; and a lion and a dragon, of the Sun.* All these are probably the traces of Egyptian stories which are lost.

SECTION IV.

Of the Worship of Birds.†

1. *Of the Hawk.*

"The Egyptians," says Ælian, "reverence the hawk, as sacred to Apollo, whom they name, in their language Horus." "These birds are termed Thausti." "The priests of Horus are called Hieracobosci, or Hawk-feeders, since it is their office to take care of the sacred hawks. The whole species is consecrated

* Porphyry. de Abstinentia. lib. vi.

† Vestiges of the worship of birds are very numerous in the Grecian mythology. See the birds of Aristophanes, where all these traces are assembled, and placed in the most ridiculous point of view. See also Ælian de Animalibus, lib. xii. cap. 40.

‡ Ælian, Hist. Anim. lib. x. cap. 14.

to this god ; but there are some particular birds which they feed with great care in the sacred groves, as dedicated in a peculiar manner to Apollo."*

Horus was one of the gods worshipped by the whole Egyptian nation, and the hawk was every where sacred, but received a particular worship at Apollinopolis.† It was from this circumstance that Apollinopolis is called, by Strabo, the city of Hawks.‡ The temple of Horus contained a statue of that god, with the head of a hawk.

The reason assigned for dedicating the hawk to Horus is the bold flight which this bird is observed to make towards the Sun, without appearing to be dazzled by its rays.§ It appears from Horapollo, that the figure of a hawk was a common emblem of the Sun, in the hieroglyphic paintings and sculptures of the Egyptians. The life of this bird, according to a notion commonly prevailing among that people, extended to seven hundred years. Various fabulous attributes were ascribed to the hawk, as the motives for paying him divine honours.

The species of hawk which was the object of this idolatrous veneration appears to have been the Falco Communis of Linnæus.¶ In the island of Philæ, on the confines of Æthiopia, another species of the same genus was consecrated, which, according to Strabo, was brought from the interior of Africa, and differed essentially from the Egyptian hawk.**

* Ælian, Hist. Anim. lib. vii. cap. 9.

† Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 12.

‡ Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvii. § Ælian, loc. citat.

‖ Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. i. cap. 8.

¶ M. Savigny, Description de l'Egypte.

** Strabo, Geograph. lib. xvii.

The hawk was not only emblematical of Horus, but of Osiris also. It is certain, at least, that the statues, and sculptured figures of this god, are commonly distinguished by the head of a hawk.

2. *Of the Crow.*

The crow, also, was sacred to Apollo, or Horus. In the neighbourhood of Coptos, only two individual birds of this species were to be seen, which belonged to the temple of Apollo.*

3. *Of the Vulture.*

In the city of Eilithyia, or Lucina, vultures were sacred, and the image of the goddess was in the form of a vulture.†

4. *Of the Eagle.*

The eagle was sacred in the Theban nome, and in the temples of Jupiter Ammon.‡

5. *Of the Ibis.*

The ibis is one of the most celebrated of the sacred animals of Egypt, and it was second to none in the

* Ælian. lib vii. cap. 18.

† Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 12.

‡ Strabon, Geograph. lib. xvii.

estimation of the people, if we may judge by the innumerable mummies of this bird which have been discovered.

The ibis, as we have mentioned before, was sacred to Thoth, or Mercury: it was venerated throughout all Egypt.

Many absurd reasons are assigned for its consecration, as its increasing and waning with the Moon; and the gratitude which the Egyptians felt towards it for delivering their country from serpents, and for having taught them the use of glysters, which this bird, according to Plutarch and Ælian, is in the habit of administering to itself.* The most probable account of this matter seems, as we have before observed, to be derived from the hieroglyphic writing.

The ibis was one of those animals which received honours in every part of Egypt, but the chief seat of its worship was at Hermopolis.‡ It appears from an observation of Apion, that a bird of this species was kept in the temple of Hermes, in that city, as a particular representative of the god, which the priests exhibited to strangers, protesting that it was immortal.§

The stork, and the owl, were also sacred birds,‖ but we have no particular information respecting this part of the Egyptian superstition.

* Ælian, lib. ii. cap. 35, 38. Plutarch, de Iside et Osis.

† Artabanus, apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 37.

‡ Ælian, de Animal. lib. x. cap. 29.

§ Ibid. lib. x. cap. 16.

6. *Of the Goose.*

I have not met with any observation in the ancient writers respecting the worship of the goose; but it appears from sculptures in the temples of Upper Egypt, that this bird was a member of the theocracy. It is represented, at least, as receiving food from persons who approach in the posture of supplicants.* Yet the goose was commonly killed as a victim to the gods, for no animal is more frequently seen in the sculptured representations of sacrifices.†

The goose was offered as a victim to Isis and Osiris, if we may attach confidence to an obvious inference from the words of Ovid and Juvenal.

Ovid says,‡

> "Nec defensa juvant Capitolia, quominus anser
> Det jecur in lances, Inachi lauta, tuas."

And Juvenal,

> "..... Ansere magno
> Scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris."§

Perhaps the custom of swearing by a goose, which prevailed among the people of Crete, had its origin in the veneration paid by the Egyptians to this bird. It is said that Rhadamanthus forbade the Cretans to swear by the Olympian gods, and ordained an oath by a goose, a dog, or a ram. We find in the Greek writers many vestiges of this practice. ‖

* See the fourteenth Plate, third tome of the "Description de l'Egypte," in which a kneeling figure is seen in the act of presenting food to a goose.

† See Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée.

‡ Ovid. Fasti. lib. i. v. 453. § Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 540.

‖ Platonis Dialog. item Aristophanes, pluribus locis.

SECTION V.

Of fabulous Birds, which are traced in the Egyptian Mythology.

Scarcely any imaginary being has been the theme of more numerous fables and conjectures than the Phœnix. It was much celebrated among the Egyptians, from whose mythology this fiction has descended to the poetry of modern times.

The important place which the Phœnix held in the religious fables of Egypt appears from the frequent recurrence of its figure in the sculptures of the temples in the Thebaid. In most of these wonderful edifices it is seen many times repeated.*

The fathers of the Christian church have considered the Phœnix as an emblem of the resurrection of the dead and the future life. As these ideas are not foreign to the doctrines of the Egyptian philosophers, it is possible that they may have been associated in some manner with this symbol; but the chief and primary allusion of the Phœnix seems, as far as we can learn, to have been of a different description. This bird, according to Horapollo† and other writers, was a type of the Sun, and of the great

* "Description des Antiquités d' Edfou, par E. Jomard," in the "Description de l' Egypte."

† Horapoll. Hieroglyph.

solar year of the old Egyptians.* The duration of its life is variously defined; but it seems generally agreed that the period of its age bore a reference to some astronomical cycle. According to Herodotus, it lived 500 years; but many authors double this period, as Nonnus,

χιλόετὴς σοφὸς ὄρνις ἐπ' εὐόδμω σέο θωμῶ
Φοῖνιξ τέρμα θέοιο φέρων.

But Tacitus, probably with more accuracy, defines the age of the Phœnix to be 1461 years, which is the duration of the great year of the Egyptians; at the end of which the apocatastasis took place, when all the planets were supposed to return to one point in the heavens.†

The young Phœnix made its appearance at Heliopolis, and deposited the body of its father in the temple of the Sun. Others say that the old bird came to Egypt and there died upon a funeral-pile, and that the new Phœnix sprang from its ashes. I shall cite Claudian's description, because it contains most of the circumstances related of this bird.

"O felix hæresque tui. Que solvimur omnes,
Hoc tibi suppeditat vires. Præbetur origo
Per cinerem. Moritur te non pereunte senectus.
Vidisti quodcunque fuit. Te sæcula teste
Cuncta revolvuntur. Nosti quo tempore pontus
Fuderit elatas scopulis stagnantibus undas;

* Cum hujus vitâ anni magni fieri conversionem rata fides est apud auctores. Solin. Polyhist. cap. 36.

† See Salmasius in Solinum. This writer has cited the authorities of Manethon, Dion, Firmicus, and Censorinus.

Quis Phaethonteis erroribus arserit annus;
Et clades te nulla rapit, solusque superstes
Edomitâ tellure manes. Non stamina Parcæ
In te clara legunt, non jus habuere nocendi."

Hesiod is the oldest Greek writer who mentions the Phœnix; but the fable is very ancient, for it seems unquestionable that it is alluded to in the book of Job.*

* Job, chap. xxix. v. 18; which ought to be rendered, "Then I said, I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the Phœnix." The Septuagint rendered the Hebrew word by Φοινιξ, which may mean either a palm-tree, or the fabulous bird called Phœnix; and the sense of the passage proves that we ought to understand the latter. Bede was the first author who rightly apprehended the sense of this passage. He says, "Palma autem arbor secundum Græcos Φοινιξ dicitur. Avis quoque illa quam multi facile quidam vivere autumant Φοινιξ, eodem nihilominus vocabulo nuncupatur. Potuit fortassis de eadem hoc loco dixisse, ut sicut illa nidum sibi faciens, in ipso post multa tempora a semetipsa concremari, et rursus de ejusdem nidi cineribus fertur intra breve tempus resurgere, quæ deinceps multis vivat temporibus; fieri ergo potest, at B. Job in similitudinem avis illius dicat, se post mortem in carnis cinere, velut in nido pro tempore futurum et inde resurrecturum in gloriam; atque hos æternos esse dies quos multiplicandos sibi fidelis Dei cultor expectet. Ita enim et superius locutus est, dicens, 'Et rursum circumdabor pella meâ et in carne meâ videbo Deum.'"

It is remarkable that Sir W. Drummond should have proposed this interpretation of the passage in Job, as a new criticism of his own. Probably he had overlooked the passage of Bede above quoted. Yet the whole paragraph is given by Bochart at length in his Hierozoicon, p. 819.

The same ambiguity in the meaning of the word Φοινιξ has also led the poet Ezechiel into a ridiculous blunder, which has

SECTION VI.

Of the Worship of Reptiles, Insects, Fishes, and Plants.

1. *The Crocodile.*

There were three provinces in Egypt where the crocodile was worshipped, viz. the nomes Coptos, of Arsinoë, and Ombos. The people of Ombos dug tanks for them, fed them, and taught them to come when called. The reason assigned by the Ombites for this reverence of the crocodile was derived from the Egyptian doctrine of mystical numbers; they

not escaped the notice of Bochart. It is mentioned in Exodus, c. xv. v. 27, that the Hebrews, in their journey through the desert, found Palm-trees at Elim. Ezechiel mistakes the meaning of the Greek word, and accordingly introduces a messenger informing Moses that he has seen the Phœnix in that place.

ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰδομεν ζωον ξένον
θαυμαζὸν, οἷον οὐδέ πω ὥρακέ τις.
διπλοῦν γαρ ἦν τὸ μῆκος αἰετοῦ σχεδὸν,
πτεροῖσι ποικίλοισιν ἠδὲ χρώμασιν.

See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix.

All the passages in ancient authors referring to the Phœnix may be seen collected in Bochart's Hierozoicon, p. 819, &c. In Sir W. Drummond's Essay in Classical Journ. vol. xiv. In Larcher's Memoire sur la Periode Caniculaire, &c. Mem. de l' Institut Royal. See also Dornedden's Phamenophes oder Versuch einer neuen theorie über den ursprung der kunst und mythologie.

fancied that this animal lives sixty years, goes sixty days pregnant, lays sixty eggs, has sixty teeth, and as many vertebræ. The worshippers of this creature were so infatuated, that mothers rejoiced when their children were devoured by crocodiles, believing that great honour was conferred upon them by the god who condescended to feed upon their offspring.*

The crocodile was sacred to Typhon, who was said to have assumed this form.† It was destroyed by the people of Tentyra, and the other districts of Egypt, and violent feuds arose between the votaries and the enemies of this animal. The Apollinopolites, who used to hang crocodiles up in their trees, and eat them after beating them to death, were regarded with peculiar detestation by their neighbours of Ombos.

2. *Serpents.*

The Egyptians, according to Phylarchus, regarded the asp with peculiar veneration, and rendered these venomous animals so tame that they would feed from the hands of children, and come from their hiding-places when summoned by a noise made with the fingers.‡

Ælian relates a story which exemplifies the influence of this strange superstition upon the deluded wretches addicted to it. "A labourer, employed in digging a trench in a vineyard, accidentally cut an asp in pieces by a blow of his spade. The man was

* Ælian, lib. x. cap. 21, cap. 24. † Ibid.

‡ Apud Ælian, de Hist. Animal, lib. xvii. cap. 5.

so terrified by the horrible impiety he supposed himself to have committed, that he became frantic, and ran about imploring succour, fancying himself pursued by the angry reptile-god. He at length obtained a cure, on resorting to the temple of Sarapis, the Egyptian Æsculapius."*

The Egyptians reckoned sixteen species of asps, one of which was sacred to Thermuthis. Accordingly, the statue of Isis was crowned with a coiled serpent, instead of a diadem.† The asp was supposed to be commissioned by the goddess, as a minister of her vengeance, to destroy impious men. In each corner of every Egyptian temple, there was a subterranean chamber devoted to Thermuthis, where the priests deposited the fat of oxen for the entertainment of the asps.

Another species of serpent, which was termed a dragon, was fed as a sacred animal in the Egyptian Melite. It was kept in a tower, and the priests placed cakes every day in its chamber, which it speedily devoured. Ælian relates that a man, who had committed a trifling offence against the majesty of this god, was so horror-struck that he became frantic, and suddenly dropped down and expired.‡

A species of serpent called Parias, or Paruas, which is innoxious, was dedicated to Æsculapius.§ Aristophanes, in the Plutus, has given us a humorous description of the office which this animal held in the

* Ælian, lib. xi. cap. 32. † Ibid. lib. x. cap. 31.

‡ Ibid. lib. xi. cap. 17. Compare this account with that of Bel and the Dragon, in the Apocrypha.

§ Ibid. lib. viii. cap. 12.

ministry of the god. It performed the same office in the temple of Sarapis, in Egypt.

In somnis venit
Jubet me cepam esse et sesaminum.*

I do not find the frog enumerated by any ancient author, among the sacred animals of Egypt. Yet we observe it represented in the Isiac table, and in several other pieces of Egyptian sculpture. It is seen sitting on the lotus, in another relic, in the collection of Montfaucon.

3. *Of the Worship of Insects.*

The Cantharus, Scarabæus, or Beetle, was very celebrated among the Egyptian sacred animals. Plutarch says it was an emblem of the Sun; but Horapollo is more particular, and informs us that there were three species of sacred beetles, one of which was dedicated to the god of Heliopolis, or the Sun; another was sacred to the Moon, and a third to Hermes, or Thoth. The reasons he assigns for the consecration of this insect are derived from the notions entertained respecting its mode of reproduction, and its habits, in which the Egyptians traced analogies to the movements of the heavenly bodies. It was believed that all these animals were of the male sex. The beetle was said to fecundate a round ball of earth, which it formed for the purpose. In this they saw a type of the Sun, in the

* Varro apud Nonium in voce Cepe. Vide Jablonski, lib. v. cap. 6.

office of demiurgus, or as forming and fecundating the lower world.*

4. *Of sacred Fishes.*†

Several fishes were consecrated by the Egyptians. We have mentioned before from Strabo, that the oxyrhynchus and lepidotus were held in reverence by all the Egyptians. When fishing in the Nile, they were very careful never to destroy an oxyrhynchus. It was supposed that this fish sprang originally from the wounds of Osiris.

The nome of Oxyrhynchus was the chief seat of this whimsical superstition. The Oxyrhynchites, in the time of Plutarch, were so enraged with the Cynopolites, who had offended them by eating the sacred fish, that in revenge they seized upon all the dogs that came in their way, and offered them up as victims: this occasioned a civil war between the two nomes, in which both parties suffered great evils, and were at length severely punished by the Romans.‡

The people of Syene held sacred the fish called Phagri, and those of Elephantine another species,

* See Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. i. cap. 10. Plut. de Iside, cap. 74. and Porphyr. de Abstinentia. lib. iv. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 4. These authors agree in the explanation above mentioned.

† Several examples of this superstition are to be found among the Greeks. Mullets were sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses, and initiated persons abstained from them. See Ælian, lib. ix. cap. 51, 65. See also book xii. cap. 1.

‡ Plut. de Iside, cap. 72.

termed Mæotæ. These fishes were considered as prophetic messengers of the annual approach of the inundation.

5. *Of Sacred Plants.*

Among the plants that were regarded as mystical or sacred by the Egyptians, none was more celebrated than the lotus, under which name are included the nymphæa lotus* and the nymphæa nelumbo. Both these plants are frequently seen sculptured in the temples of the Thebaid.

In the nymphæa nelumbo, which throws its flowers above the surface of the water, the Egyptians found an allusion to the Sun rising from the bosom of the ocean; and it is on the blossom of this plant that the infant Harpocrates is represented as reposing. The fruit of the nymphæa nelumbo is the cyamus, or Egyptian bean, so celebrated by Herodotus. It is remarkable that this plant is no longer found in Egypt. In India it is indigenous, and it is often seen among the sacred sculptures of the Brahmans.†

The peach-tree was also sacred to Harpocrates: to him the first fruits of lentils and other plants were offered, in the month Mesori.‡

* The Nymphæa lotus is the lotus of Herodotus and Theophrastus. Illustrations of the Lotus of Antiquity, by R. Duppa, L L. B.

† Observations sur le Lotus du Nil. par. M. A. Delile, Annales du Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i.

‡ Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, cap. 68.

It is well known that the Egyptians worshipped the onion. Plutarch refers this superstition to a fancied relation between this plant and the Moon. Leeks also, and various legumina, were held in similar veneration.*

The acacia and the heliotrope are said to have been among the number of those plants that were consecrated to the Sun.†

The laurel was regarded as the most noble of all plants.‡

There was a temple, according to Hellanicus, in the town of Pisidium, near the Nile, where certain ceremonies were performed indicating a superstitious adoration of the acanthus.§

We learn from Clemens, that there were thirty-six plants dedicated to the thirty-six decans, or genii, who presided over their portions of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.‖

6. *Of Sacred Stones.*

It appears that in certain inanimate objects the Egyptians fancied that they perceived relations to the attributes of their gods. Damascius¶ mentions solar

* See Minutius Felix. Octav. p. 278.

† See Kircher's Œdipus, tom. iii. cap. 2, where that learned but fanciful writer has given a disquisition on plants, adopted in the hieroglyphic system.

‡ Porphyr. de Abstinentia.

§ Hellanicus, apud Athenæum, lib. xv. p. 679, 680.

‖ Clemens Alexand. ¶ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. 37.

and lunar stones; and Pliny* speaks of the selenites, which imitates the phases of the Moon.

These fancied analogies, and the mystical powers that were supposed to result from them, appear to have given origin, at a later period, to the doctrine of talismans, so celebrated among the Arabs, and afterwards among the Europeans.†

SECTION VII.

On the Motives which led the Egyptians to the Worship of Animals and Plants.

The origin of animal worship, and the reasons or motives which induced the Egyptians to represent their gods under such strange forms, or to pay divine honours to irrational brutes, and even to the meanest objects in nature, is an inquiry which has puzzled the learned in various times. Herodotus pretended to be in possession of more information on this subject than he chose to make public. It has been conjectured that he was desirous of concealing his ignorance under a cloak of mystery. The later Greek writers seem to have been more intent on offering excuses for the follies of the Egyptians than on unfolding the real principles of their mythology; and we find various and contradictory opinions maintained with equal

* Apud Phol. cod. 242.

† Vide Kircher. Œdip. loc. cit. item Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes. tom. iii.

confidence. It appears, indeed, that the Egyptian priests themselves, in the time of the Ptolemies, and at the era of the Roman conquest, were by no means agreed on this subject.

One of the most obvious and specious attempts to explain this superstition is the conjecture of Plutarch and Diodorus; who suppose that the Egyptians were induced to pay divine honours to animals out of gratitude for the benefits which they derived from them; to the cow and the sheep, for the clothing and sustenance they afford; to the dog, for his care in protecting their houses against thieves; to the ibis, for delivering their country from serpents; and to the ichneumon, for destroying the eggs of the crocodile.*

This conjecture is refuted by the well-known fact, that a variety of animals, which are of no apparent utility, and even several species which are noxious and destructive, and the natural enemies of mankind, received their appropriate honours, and were regarded with as much reverence as the more obviously useful members of the animal creation. The shrew-mouse, the pike, the beetle, the crow, the hawk, the eagle, the hippopotamos, can claim no particular regard for the benefits they are known to confer on the human race; still less can the crocodile, the lion, the wolf, or the venemous asp, urge any such pretension. Yet we have seen that all these creatures, and others of a similar description, were worshipped by the Egyptians with the most profound devotion; that mothers rejoiced when their children were devoured by crocodiles. We may further observe that some of those

* Diodor. lib. i. Plut. de Isid. et Osir.

animals which afford us food and raiment, and are, on that account, among the most serviceable, were rendered of little or no utility to the Egyptians on account of this very superstition. They accounted it unlawful to kill oxen for the sake of food, and not only abstained from slaughtering the sheep, but likewise, under a variety of circumstances, from wearing any garment made of its wool,* which was regarded as impure, and defiling the body that was clothed with it.

These considerations seem to prove that the adoration of animals among the Egyptians was not founded on the advantages which mankind derive from them.

Another attempt at explaining this mystery, which receives greater countenance from the general character of the Egyptian manners and superstition, is the conjecture of Lucian. This writer pretends that the sacred animals were only types or emblems of the asterisms or of those imaginary figures or groups into which the ancients had, in a very early age, distributed the stars; distinguishing them by the names of living creatures and other terrestrial objects. According to Lucian the worshippers of the bull Apis adored a living image of the celestial Taurus; and Anubis represented the Dog-star or the constellation of Sirius.†

This hypothesis has received more attention than any other among modern writers. Dupuis has made it the basis of a very ingenious attempt to explain the mythologue of Isis and Osiris, and several other fables of antiquity, which this author resolves into

* Plut. de Isid. cap. iv. † Lucian de Astrolog. p. 386.

astronomical figments, or figurative accounts of certain changes in the positions of the heavenly bodies.*

The hypothesis of Lucian will not endure the test of a rigid scrutiny. For if we examine the constellations of the most ancient spheres, we find but few coincidences between the zodia or celestial images, and that extensive catalogue of brute creatures which were adored as divinities on the banks of the Nile. Where, for example, shall we discover the ibis, the cat, the hippopotamus, or the crocodile? Besides, if we could trace the whole series of deified brutes in the heavens, it would still remain doubtful whether the Egyptian animals were consecrated subsequently to the formation of the sphere, as types or images of the constellations; or the stars distributed into groups, and these groups named with reference to the quadrupeds, birds, and fishes, that were already regarded as sacred. There are, indeed, many circumstances which might render the latter alternative the most probable. But the relations between the animals of the sphere and those of the Egyptian temples are by far too limited to warrant any such speculation; and Lucian is an author who is by no means deserving of much credit on a subject of this nature.

It has been conjectured by others, that certain attributes of the Deity were thought to be expressed by the qualities of various animals, which were venerated accordingly as emblems or representatives of these attributes; that the strength or physical power

* Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, tom. ii. lib. 3, chap. 2.

of the gods was adored in the lion, and their penetrating sight in the hawk. Thus the worship of animals is regarded in connection with the hieroglyphical or symbolical writing which is supposed to represent the most mysterious ideas under visible and tangible forms, by associations or allusions more or less striking.*

This account of the matter is probably not without some foundation in truth; but it is obviously inadequate to solve the whole mystery. The explanations adduced on this principle are laboured and contradictory to each other, and the allusions very remote. The qualities ascribed to animals by Ælian, Horapollo, and other writers, who have handed down the stories which the Egyptians assigned as the motives for consecrating them, are almost wholly fictitious and absurd. They are evidently fables invented for the purpose of excusing and explaining superstitious practices, which the priests were obliged to defend. Besides, the sacred animals were regarded by the Egyptians, as we have already shown, and shall see more clearly proved in some passages which will presently be cited, not merely as types or images of some invisible power, but as partaking themselves of divinity.

The true explanation of the singular notions and absurd practices we have been surveying, seems to be more deeply rooted in the principles of the

* See Plut. de Iside. cap. 72 et seq. Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, tom. 3, à la fin. Phamenophes oder Versuch einer neuen theorie über den ursprung der kunst und mythologie. Von C. F. Dornedden. Göttingen. 1797.

Egyptian mythology. Perhaps it will receive some elucidation in the following passage from the works of Porphyry; who was more profoundly versed than any other writer in the mysteries of the ancient paganism.*

"The Egyptian priests," says Porphyry, "having profited by their diligent study of philosophy, and their intimate acquaintance with the nature of the gods, have learnt that the divinity permeates not human beings only: that man is not the only creature on the earth possessed of soul, but that nearly the same spiritual essence pervades all the tribes of living creatures. On this account, in fashioning images of the gods, they have adopted the forms of all animals, and have sometimes joined the human figure with those of beasts; at others, have combined the shapes of men and of birds; for some of these images have the form of a man up to the neck, with the face of a bird, or a lion, or some other creature. Others, again, have the head of a man, with the remainder of the body, either the upper or lower parts, shaped like some other animal." "On this account, also, the lion is adored by them as a god; and there is a part of Egypt which is called the Leontopolite nome; another is called the Busirite, and a third the Cynopolitan; for they adore, under these semblances, the universal power which the gods have severally displayed in the various forms of living nature."

From this passage, though somewhat obscurely expressed, it appears to have been Porphyry's design

† Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 9; item Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 4.

to inform us that the worship of animals was intimately connected with the doctrine of emanation, which we have traced among the fundamental principles of the Egyptian philosophy. We have seen that all the operations of nature were ascribed by the Egyptians to certain dæmons or spiritual beings, who were supposed to animate different portions of the universe. All these were emanations from the universal deity or soul of the world. This doctrine was extended still further; and it was imagined, that the soul, or vital principle, in every living being is an emanation from the same source; that it is a divided portion of the divine nature, and derived, either primarily or secondarily, from the fountain of divinity. Accordingly, in men and animals, and even in plants, they adored the indwelling portions of the same essence.

In another passage of the same work Porphyry connects the worship of animals with the doctrine of the soul. "One circumstance," says he, "which induced the Egyptians to regard these creatures with veneration, was the belief that the soul of each animal, when separated, contains a rational principle, and is endowed with prescience, or the knowledge of futurity, and with all the powers which the human soul possesses in its unfettered state."*

Precisely similar is the conclusion to which Plutarch conducts us, after discussing various opinions respecting the origin of animal worship. "On the whole," he says, "we must approve the sentiments of those who do not worship these objects themselves,

* Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 10.

but adore the divinity through their intervention, regarding them as the most lively and natural mirrors wherein to behold the divine perfections, and as the instruments or workmanship of the deity, who arranges the whole universe; for we must conceive, that whatever enjoys life is more dignified than what is inanimate, and beings endowed with perception than those which are insensible, and even than all the gold and precious stones in the world; for *the divinity does not reside* in the colours, or forms, or beauty of surface." "But all those beings which are animated, and see, and have in themselves the principle of self-motion, and the perception of what is congruous to their nature, and what is foreign to it—all these have *imbibed an emanation and an appropriate particle from that universal mind* which, as Heraclitus truly says, governs all things; so that at least the divinity is not less strikingly represented in these than in images of brass or stone," which are alike susceptible of corruption and decay, and by their nature, devoid of all perception and understanding.*

The same doctrine is alluded to in another piece of mythology, which we owe to Plutarch; who, not perceiving the relation it bore to other parts of the Egyptian philosophy, attempts to explain it away into allegory. "There are many," he says, "who affirm that the animals before mentioned," alluding to the Typhonian animals, "contain portions of the soul of Typhon, which has been separated and distributed among them."†

* Plut. de Isid. cap. 77. † Ibid, cap. 73.

These testimonies seem to be sufficient to authorise the inference, that the worship of animals among the Egyptians had its origin in the doctrine of emanation. Certain effluxes or eradiations from the essence of the gods were believed to be embodied in all living creatures, and it was to these indwelling portions of the divinity that the people addressed their adorations. Being possessed with this idea, they were led to look out for symptoms of the mystical indwelling power in the outward qualities of animals; and hence the absurd stories of which we have given some examples, so current among the ancient priests. Every instinct was regarded as a mysterious allusion to some fable in the mythology. It was natural that noxious creatures should be regarded as manifestations of the destructive power, and those which are most friendly and serviceable to man, of the productive or beneficent. Still, the gratitude of men, for the services rendered them by the latter, was not, as we have shown, the first principle which led to the deification of animals.

Nearly related to this doctrine was another piece of mythology, of which we have many vestiges among the ancient writers. The Egyptians, as we have before observed, believed that the souls which had emanated from the primitive source transmigrated through various bodies; nor was this change of forms confined to emanations of a lower or secondary order. As the souls of men transmigrated through different shapes, so the higher orders of spiritual agents could, as occasion required, assume any form they chose; and sometimes the gods appeared in the world under the disguise of bulls, lions, eagles, or other creatures of the like description.

Thus Diodorus informs as that the five gods of the elements, viz. Ammon, Minerva, (who, with this author, is the goddess of the upper hemisphere,) Vulcan, Demeter, and Oceanus, were wont to travel through the world, and present themselves to men, sometimes in the shapes of the sacred animals, at others in the human form. This fiction, he adds, was related by a poet, who had travelled in Egypt, and received it from the priests.

"The gods, like strangers from a distant shore,
Take various shapes, and every town explore;
And all the wiles of secret mischief scan,
And mark the generous deeds of man to man."*

Perhaps this fable may have given rise to the distinction of divine from the herd of sacred animals. Those which were merely sacred contained only more minute effluxes from the deity; but the divine appear to have been regarded as incarnations of the celestial gods.†

* Diodor. lib. i. cap. 1.

† Jablonski maintains that all these stories of the incarnations of gods in the shapes of animals were fables invented by the Greeks at a later age. He considers them as foreign to the character of the Egyptian philosophy. It would appear that Jablonski was unwilling to impute to his favourite nation so gross a superstition. Yet the doctrines of emanation and metempsychosis, and these fabulous transformations, are so evidently connected, that the Egyptians seem to have a better claim to the origin of this fiction than the Greeks. It is very probable that the early Greeks derived the story of Io, and all their other metamorphoses, from the Egyptians. However this may have been, we have so many positive and unobjectionable testimonies that such fables were current among the

Various stories were related of particular avatars, or incarnations of this description; some of which we shall collect, as they are important for the illustration of the Egyption superstition.

It was reported that Osiris, wishing to assist Horus in his war against Typhon, assumed the form of a wolf, and in that shape ascended from the shades. On this story, according to Diodorus, was founded the worship of the wolf at Lycopolis.*

The Ombites and Arsinoites, as Plutarch and Ælian inform us, when questioned why they worshipped crocodiles, replied that it was because Typhon assumed that form when he attempted to escape the pursuit of Horus.†

Diana or Bubastis was worshipped at the city of the same name under the form of a cat; and the reason assigned for this superstition was, according to Stephanus, a prevalent story that the goddess had assumed the shape of that animal in order to elude the vigilance of Typhon.‡

This malevolent being was indeed so powerful and so crafty that all the gods of better tempers were very much afraid of him. On one occasion he made so violent an assault upon them, that they all took flight, and suddenly changed their shapes into those of

vulgar in Egypt, as well as among the priests, that we cannot refuse to admit them as properly belonging to the Egyptian mythology. Nothing, indeed, has been adduced that tends to invalidate this conclusion. See, however, Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. lib. v. cap. 2.

* Diod. lib. i. cap. 6.

† Plut. de Isid. cap. Ælian de Animal. lib. x. cap. 28 et 21.

‡ Steph. Byzant. voce Βουβαστις

various animals. This story is related circumstantially by Apollodorus and Hyginus.* The latter affirms that he received it from the Egyptian priests. Lucian says it was a prevalent fable among the crowd of scribes and shorn prophets upon the banks of the Nile.† Ovid thought it a fit story for his Metamorphoses. He has blended it with the Grecian fable of Typhœus.

> She sings from Earth's dark womb how Typhon rose,
> And struck with deadly fear his heavenly foes;
> How the gods fled to Egypt's slimy soil,
> And hid their heads beneath the banks of Nile;
> How Typhon, from the conquered skies, pursued
> Their routed godships to the seven-mouth'd flood.
> Forced every god, his fury to escape,
> Some form of beast to assume, or earthly shape.
> Jove, so she sung, was changed into a ram;
> From whence the horns of Libyan Ammon came.
> Bacchus a goat; Apollo was a crow;
> Phœbe a cat; the wife of Jove a cow
> Of snowy hue; Cyllenian Mercury
> A winged Ibis ‡ ———

Diodorus speaks of a similar transformation which the gods underwent in order to escape the persecutions of wicked men. But perhaps this is only another copy of the same story.§

The god of the river Nile, who was Osiris himself in a particular character or function, assumed on another occasion the form of a bull. In this shape he

* Apollodorus in Biblioth. lib. i. cap. 6. Hyginus, fab. 152.

† Lucian de Sacrificiis, circa fin.

‡ Ovid. Met. lib. v. Maynwaring's translation.

§ Diod. lib. i. cap. 6.

paid his addresses to the daughter of the founder of Memphis, and became the father of Ægyptus. The city of Memphis was named after this princess, and this incarnation was, perhaps, connected with the worship of the Memphite Bull.*

In the Greek mythology we find many fables of river gods assuming the form of a bull; and this renders it very probable, that the rites of Apis or the bull of Memphis were derived from the fiction above-mentioned. Jablonski has observed that the image of Apis was connected with the Nilometer, and that the festival of the Theophania, or appearance of the divine Bull, perhaps related to the increase of the Nile.† Strabo, as we mentioned before, asserts, that Apis and Osiris were the same god; and the Nile was identified with Osiris, or was considered as an emanation from him. On the whole, it appears probable that Apis was an incarnation of the Nilotic Osiris, or tutelar genius of the Nile.

Apis, it is evident, was worshipped, not as a symbol merely, but as an incarnation of some dæmon or spiritual being; for when one bull died, and another was substituted, the people fancied that they still adored the same being, who had undergone a new transmigration. We are told by Plutarch, that the Egyptian priests declared Apis to be an image of the

* Diod. lib. i. cap. 4.

† Jablonski makes no allusion to the story of the tauriform incarnation of the Nile, which appears to be the foundation of these rites; but from the fact that the image of a bull was connected with the Nilometer, and from the season at which the Theophania was celebrated, he concludes that Apis was a symbol of the Nile.—See Panth. Ægypt. lib. iv. cap. 2.

soul of Osiris,* and Diodorus says, that when the people were questioned respecting their reason for paying divine honours to this animal, they replied, "that the soul of Osiris had migrated into a bull, and that when a new Apis was born, the soul of his predecessor was immediately infused into him."†

In like manner the worship of Isis in the form of a cow was connected with a story of her assuming that shape; and this fable was the foundation of the Grecian fiction of Io, the daughter of Inachus, who was transmuted into a heifer. Isis, in the celebrated procession which was annually made to her honour, was represented with the horns of her favourite animal: and she is thus magnificently described by Ovid.‡

"*Cùm medio noctis spatio sub imagine somni*
INACHIS *ante torum, pompâ comitata suorum,*
Aut stetit, aut visa est. Inerant lunaria fronti
Cornua, cum spicis nitido flaventibus auro,
Et regale decus; cum quâ latrator Anubis,
Sanctaque Bubastis, variisque coloribus Apis;
Quique premit vocem, digitoque silentia suadet;
Sistraque erant, nunquamque satis quæsitus Osiris,
Plenaque somniferi serpens peregrina veneni."

Of the Worship of Plants and Stones.

We find very little information concerning the motives which induced the Egyptians to worship plants; but it is easy to perceive that this practice

* De Isid. cap. 29. † Diodor. lib. i. cap. 6.
‡ Ovid. Metamorph. lib. ix. v. 685.

arose from the same principles as the adoration of animals. The life of plants, as well as that of animals, was an emanation from the gods; and plants received transmigrating souls.

We find more distinct traces of this superstition among the Pythagoreans and the Jewish Rabbins; both of which sects are known to have derived it from the Egyptians. Empedocles professed to have undergone transmigration through shrubs, and said, that of all plants he preferred to transmigrate into the form of a laurel.* The Rabbins taught that, for certain sins, "a soul goes into the leaf of a tree. Then," they continue, "the wind rises, and shakes it about, causing great torment. But this punishment ceases when the leaf falls to the ground. At other times, such a soul passes from leaf to leaf.

From the same source the Rabbins derived the doctrine that souls pass into stones.† The vene-

* Ælian, Hist. Animal. lib. xii. cap. 7. Diog. Laërt. lib. viii. Vit. Empedoclis.

† "Rabbi Isaac Lurja went on a time into the city of Tiberias, and, passing by the great school of Rabbi Jochanan, who was then living, he showed his disciples a stone in the wall, and said to them, 'Into that stone has entered a soul, that cries to me to pray for her.'" Emek Hammeleck.—*Traditions of the Jews, with the Expositions of the Rabbins.* Translated from the German. London. 1732.

The ideas of the Jewish Rabbins, respecting the transmigration, agree in other respects with those which the Egyptians are said to have held. Transmigration was regarded in most cases as the chastizement of sins; and the soul was supposed to pass into the body of some animal, whose propensities bore some analogy, real or fancied, to its vicious habits. The souls

ration paid to inanimate objects among the Egyptians may, on this principle, be accounted for, and connected with the leading tenets of their superstition.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Worship of Men.

As the inferior animals were supposed to be endowed with souls which were emanations from the essence of the gods, and accordingly received divine honours from the Egyptians, it would be strange if we found the human species alone excluded from these high privileges. The fact is otherwise; we learn that a share of divinity was ascribed to men, and that they were adored on the same principle as the brute animals.

We are assured by Porphyry and Eusebius, that there was a district in Egypt where divine honours were paid to a living man. Victims were immolated before him, and burnt upon an altar. After this ceremony was concluded, the divinity was allowed to come down and eat a hearty meal of the sacred viands. The name of the town or village where these rites were performed, was Anabis, or Anamis.*

of proud and impudent men, according to Rabbi Isaac Lurja, passed into wild beasts, or unclean fowls. Tax-gatherers and rapacious men became ravenous birds. Souls of impure persons transmigrated into camels or storks.—*Traditions of the Jews*, vol. i.

* Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 9. Theodoret. c.

It is well known that the Egyptian priests, the prophets and sacred scribes, pretended in very early times to possess supernatural powers, and to have an insight into futurity. These wonderful endowments were attributed, not, as among the Greeks, to the temporary impulse of the dæmon who forced his convulsed or intoxicated priestess to pour forth involuntary rhapsodies, but to some natural superiority. We learn from Manethon* that those persons who displayed extraordinary wisdom were believed literally to partake of the divine nature: the soul of the priest was supposed to be an emanation from that particular god to whose service he was especially devoted. Such persons seem to have been regarded as incarnations of the gods, not inferior in dignity, though of a different class from the divine animals.

It is thus that among the ancient kings of Egypt we find many who bore the names of the celestial gods. There was a king Horus, who, according to Manethon, was so highly favoured by the gods as to be admitted to the honour of beholding them in person. A king of Memphis was named Tosorthrus, which is interpreted Æsculapius. We know that the Egyptian Æsculapius was Serapis, who, as we have shown in the first book, was worshipped, before the practice of deifying men was introduced. It appears that

Græcos. iii. Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 4. Item cap. xii. Minutius Felix gives a further account. See Minut. Felix. Octavius, p. 281, who says he was consulted as an oracle.

* See Manethon's account of Amenophis the prophet, in Josephus's Letter to Apion.

Tosorthrus was a sacerdotal king, who received a title that properly belonged to Sarapis,* or Æsculapius, from his devotion to this deity, and his skill in the art of healing. Many of the names of the Diospolitan kings, in the series of Eratosthenes, are titles or epithets of gods. Sometimes the name of the god is given to the priest or king unchanged; at others it is modified by some prefix, indicating a near relation to the deity; as in the examples of Athothes, which is interpreted HERMOGENES, or the son of Thoth; PENTE-ATHYRIS, which means the high-priest of Athyri; PENTEPHRES, or, as the name is corruptly written, Potiphar, the high-priest of the Sun. In some instances it would appear that a name thus modified, and the precise appellation of the god, were applied indifferently to the same individual.

This practice accounts for the magnificent titles given by the later Egyptians, to their kings of the Macedonian race. In the inscriptions found in Egypt, belonging to the Ptolemaic period, these monarchs are called "gods," and the most exalted titles are lavished upon them.† The Roman Cæsars seem afterwards to have emulated the Ptolemies in the degree of adulation they exacted.

It is on this principle that we must explain many fictions and singular expressions relating to the Egyptian gods, which have induced some modern writers to suppose, that the original objects of

* Jablonski conjectures that Tosorthros is a corruption of Tuse-tho, which means in the Coptic, "Healer of the world."

† The Rosetta inscription contains several titles of this class.

worship among this people were mortals deified. Particular gods were said to have founded cities, invented sciences, and enacted laws: these actions can only have been done by men; hence it has been taken for certain that the Egyptian gods, like some of the Grecian heroes, were men who gained the honour of deification by their services to mankind. But these were the secondary gods; that is to say, persons who were regarded as divine for the reasons we have just stated. Thus Athothes, the son of Thoth, who is perhaps the same individual elsewhere called Thoth, is said to have practised physic, and to have written books on anatomy; or the works that were performed by the priest, into whom an emanation from the god had been infused, were ascribed to the fictitious divinity himself.

This solution of the problem before us is supported by the express testimony of Diodorus. Having recorded the fables related of the celestial gods, whom he represents, as we have seen, as personifications of the elements or dæmons supposed to reside in the elements, this historian concludes, "such are the stories told by the Egyptians of the heavenly and immortal gods. And besides these, they say there are others that are terrestrial, *who were begotten of these former gods, and were originally mortal men*, but, by reason of their wisdom and beneficence to all mankind, have obtained immortality; of *which number some have been kings of Egypt; several of whom by interpretation have had the same names with the celestial gods*; others have kept their own proper names; for they pretend that Sol, Saturn, Rhea, &c.

reigned in Egypt."* It is evident that Diodorus alludes here to such kings as we find in the lists of Eratosthenes, and Manethon.†

These double names created confusion in the Egyptian traditions, of which the chronological compilers, such as Manethon, availed themselves, in order to magnify the antiquity of Egypt, and fill up the chasms in their historical cycle. For the genuine series of kings not extending to a sufficiently remote epoch, and a tradition being current that the gods had reigned in Egypt in early times, nothing was more easy than to patch up two or three additional dynasties, by putting down the names of the gods, and to assign to them whatever vacuum might remain to be filled up in that cycle or imaginary period of celestial revolutions with which they had resolved to connect the duration of the Egyptian monarchy.

We are thus enabled to account for the contradictions that occur in the works of ancient authors, who sometimes assert that the Egyptian gods were deified mortals, at others that they were personifications of the elements or heavenly bodies.

* Diodor. Bibl. lib. i. cap. 1. Booth's translation.

† See below, Orig. Ægypt.

SECTION IX.

Of the Antiquity of the Worship of Animals in Egypt.

It has been pretended by some writers, that the worship of animals in Egypt was comparatively a modern practice, introduced a short time before the invasion of that country by Cambyses. It is difficult to conjecture on what grounds such an assertion can have been made, since all historical testimony refers this superstition to the earliest ages of the Egyptian history. The history of the golden calf, set up by Aaron in the wilderness, proves that images were made in the form of animals as early as the time of the departure of the Hebrews. Indeed, in the prohibitions of the Mosaic law, the most remarkable classes of deified animals are enumerated, as well as the most striking of those celestial objects which, as we have shown, the Egyptians adored with allegorical rites and fictions. "Take ye good heed," says the inspired lawgiver, whose injunctions and whole system of theology display so remarkable a contrast with those of the wisest pagans, "for ye saw no manner of similitude on that day when Jehovah spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of fire—Take heed, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of *any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air*, the likeness of any thing that *creepeth on the ground*,

the likeness of *any fish that is in the waters* beneath the earth; and—lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, which Jehovah thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven."*

It may be conjectured that images made of wood or stone, in the forms of animals, were worshipped at this time in Egypt, but that the adoration of living animals was not introduced until a later age. It appears however, that it was unlawful for the Egyptians to kill sheep in the time of Joseph. Living animals, were therefore consecrated in this early age. Indeed, if the account which we have given of the motives that induced the Egyptians to worship animals is correct, the adoration of the living creature must have preceded that of the image or representative.

It is asserted by Manethon, in the fragments preserved by Eusebius and Africanus, that the worship of Apis, Mnevis, and Mendes, was introduced in the reign of Caiachos, or Chous, who was the tenth in descent from Menes, the first king.

Many authors have remarked the traces of animal worship among the Greeks.† These must have been

* Deuteron. chap. iv.

† This argument is used by Dr. Shuckford. See Shuckford's Connections of Sacred and Profane History, vol. ii. p. 310. See also, Clemens Alexand. Admonit. ad Gentes and the Birds of Aristophanes.

Rhadamanthus, the famous Cretan lawgiver, ordered the Cretans to swear by animals. This seems to be a very ancient relick of animal worship. See Porphyr. de Abst. lib. iii. p. 285.

derived from the earliest Egyptian colonies, which were founded by Cecrops, and Danaus, among the barbarous Pelasgi. Consequently the worship of animals must have been more ancient in Egypt than the era of the first civilization of Greece.

On the whole it may be concluded, that the adoration of living animals and plants is a superstition which refers itself to the first ages of the Egyptian history.

NOTE

ON

BOOK IV. CHAPTER I.

If any doubt remains with respect to the motives which induced the Egyptians to pay divine honours to brute creatures and to men, notwithstanding the testimonies of the ancients which we have adduced in the foregoing section, it will be entirely removed by comparing these superstitions with those rites of a similar description which prevail among the Hindoos.

The customs of the Hindoos in this particular, the whole of their superstition relating to sacred animals, and the strange and wild fables of their avatars or incarnations of gods in the shapes of men and other creatures, bear so remarkable a resemblance to the ideas and customs of the Egyptians, that the comparison cannot fail to afford some curious and interesting observations.

The whole of the Indian idolatry, including under this name the worship of visible objects of whatever kind, animate and inanimate, the productions of nature or the workmanship of man, is founded on the same principle to which we have referred on the authority of several ancient philosophers, the veneration of men, animals, and plants among the old Egyptians.

"The Deity," says Mr. Ward, "becomes, according to their ideas, individuated, and takes possession of every form of matter." It is the same god, as Krishna says, "which is seen in the reverend Brahman, perfected in knowledge; in the dog, and in him who eateth the flesh of dogs." Among the regular Hindoos the beings supposed to possess most of this energy, or in whom the presiding deity eminently dwells, are

the gods, the giants, the brahmans, and devout ascetics. Among the heterodox sects, ascetics are almost exclusively considered as the favoured depositories of the divine energy."

So fully are the Hindoos possessed with this notion that God pervades every thing, and manifests a greater portion of himself in one form than another, that many, as the same author assures us, "wander away a whole life in search of a man in whom God pre-eminently dwells." Hence, the worship of the grand Lama of Tibet, and the various Moonis who transmit the indwelling portion of divinity, the "divinæ particulam auræ," by hereditary descent.

But we shall confine ourselves to the notions of the regular Hindoos, and only mention a few striking particulars.

To begin with the worship of Men. "All the Brahmans," says the excellent author lately quoted, "but especially the religious guides or Gooroos, are objects of worship among the Hindoos, and have divine honours paid them. The spiritual guide, in the estimation of the disciple, is literally a god. Wherever he approaches, the disciple prostrates himself in the dust before him."

In like manner the prophets of the Egyptians were supposed not merely to receive communications of supernatural wisdom from the gods, but, as we learn from Manethon, actually to partake of the divine essence; to have indwelling portions or irradiation of the divinity within them.

The Shastras declare, moreover, that the daughters of Brahmans, till they are eight years old, are objects of worship as forms of Bhagavati. "Some persons worship these girls daily. The devotee, taking the daughter of some neighbouring brahman, and placing her on a seat, offers flowers, &c. and pays adoration to her." At the festivals of some female divinities, the daughters of brahmans have divine honours paid to them.

Like the man worshipped by the Egyptians in the rites of Anabis, as we have shown from Porphyry in the preceding pages, the human being who receives the adoration of the Hindoos, partakes of the offerings. "She even has a share of

the spirituous liquors, and of the flesh though it should be that of the Cow." The refuse is eaten by the persons present, however different their castes; nor must any one refuse to partake of these offerings.*

Cows also are worshipped as forms or emanations of Bhagavati; and the excrement and urine of this animal are supposed to have the virtue of purifying whatever they touch.

Even images are supposed literally to contain the god; and no image is worshipped in India without a preparatory ceremony, in which the Brahman, by repeating incantations, persuades the divinity to come and dwell in the shrine of clay, wood, or stone. After this performance, the image is a god: beforehand, nobody thinks it an object of reverence.†

This may suffice for illustrating the principle of animal worship among the Hindoos. We shall make a few further remarks on the incarnations of the gods, which the Hindoos have founded on this doctrine, and on the kinds of visible objects they have made choice of. Under both heads we confine ourselves strictly to such observations as seem likely to illustrate the superstitions of Egypt.

The idea is in itself singular and absurd enough, that the divinity should for any imaginable purpose be under the necessity of assuming the disguise of brutes of various descriptions, some of them the most noxious and disgusting. It is still more remarkable that we should trace this whimsical doctrine in the religious systems of the two most ancient nations of antiquity; this would be unaccountable, if we allowed no common origin to both superstitions, but that this last supposition contains the true explanation of the enigma, is proved by the coincidences in particular fables and customs.

1. *Of Sacred Quadrupeds.*

Among quadrupeds, the Hindoos, as it is well-known, ascribe the highest honours to the ox kind, and especially to cows. In these points they coincide with the Egyptians.

* Ward, vol. i. p. 247. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 13.

We need not remind the reader of the close coincidence to be traced in the feelings of these people with respect to the horror they express at the idea of eating the flesh of the cow. Even Europeans are regarded on this account by the Hindoos as on a level with the degraded Parriars;* and with similar abhorrence the Greeks were regarded by the Egyptians.

Among the chosen vehicles for manifesting the gods to men, the Cat holds an honourable rank in the Asiatic as well as in the African mythology. The books of the Hindoos contain the history of an incarnation of Indra in the form of a cat.†

The chaste Bubastis, goddess of child-birth, was, as we have seen, a cat. The Hindoo Shashti, the protectress of children, is figured riding upon a cat; and the Hindoos, and especially mothers, avoid hurting this animal, lest the goddess should revenge herself upon their children.‡

The dog sacred to Kala Bhairava,‖ a form of Siva, and the jackall of Durga, remind us of the barking Anubis, the companion of Osiris, and the she-wolf of Dian or Isis, and the bitch of Hecate. The dogs of Yama, one of which was termed *Cerbura*, or spotted, and was feigned to have three heads, corresponds remarkably, as Mr. Wilford has observed, with the three-headed Cerberus, the dog of Pluto.

The divine monkey Hanuman is, according to the Brahmans, an incarnation of Siva. Whether the monkey-gods of Egypt were so nearly related to the celestial dæmons, we want information to decide.

The elephant, lion, buffalo, rat, deer, goat, &c. receive worship at the festivals of the gods who are figured riding upon them.

2. *Of Birds worshipped by the Hindoos.*

Of birds, the fabulous are the most celebrated. Garura, the bird of Vishnu, has some features in his history which approxi-

* Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.

† Ward, vol. i. p. 44. ‡ Ibid. p. 182. ‖ Ibid. p. 264.

mate to the marvels of the Phœnix, to whose name his epithet Pannaga-sana bears perhaps an accidental resemblance.

A species of kite, called the Coromandel Eagle, a sacred owl, peacock, and goose, recal the fictions which the classical mythology derived from Egypt.

3. *Of Fishes, Reptiles, and Inanimate Objects.*

We do not find so important a worship paid to reptiles and fishes in India as in Egypt. Yet the latter receive inferior honours from the modern Hindoos, and the Fish, and the Tortoise avatars, are as famous in the legends of the Pauranics, as the fish of Venus, or any of the Nilotic amphibia in the theocracy of the West.

Sacred trees and shrubs in India were equally venerable with the sacred plants in Egypt. They are considered as forms of particular gods.

Each of the celestial bodies worshipped in India has an appropriate sacred plant; the counterpart, it would seem, of the Egyptian herbs dedicated to the horoscopes or genii of the Signs.

It is forbidden to the Hindoos to eat onions, though they do not consider them as gods. The deification of this plant has been imputed to the Egyptians on account of their scruple against eating them.

Lastly, the consecration of stones, as the Salgrama and other inanimate things, which are supposed to receive particles of the divine essence, remind us of the mystical stones of the Egyptians and the Arabian talismans.

CHAPTER II.

SACRIFICES, FESTIVALS, AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIANS.

From the veneration with which animals were regarded in Egypt, we might conjecture that it was accounted impious to slaughter them in sacrifice, and Macrobius positively asserts this to have been the fact. "Nunquam fuit fas Ægyptiis pecudibus aut sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo placare deos."* This tenet was perhaps maintained by a party of the Egyptian priests, or it might be enjoined in some of the sacred books, as it is by several of the modern sects in India; but we are well assured, that animals were offered as victims in the temples of most of the Egyptian gods. In general, it was unlawful in each nome to slaughter the animal which represented the tutelar god of the district.

The motives with which the people of different countries have offered animals as victims to the gods, have not always been the same. It would seem, indeed, that they were at first similar, because this universal practice must have been derived from one origin, but the ideas which were at first connected with

* Mac. Sat. lib. i. c. 7.

the performance of sacrifice, were by some nations partially or totally forgotten. The prevailing idea of the Greeks, in the Homeric age, seems to have been that the gods were a sort of aërial beings, who were fattened by the savoury odour that arose from roasting a victim, and were to be rendered favourable to the wishes of men by affording them a good meal.* The same idea may be traced in the practices of many half-civilized nations.

But the sentiments with which the Egyptians performed sacrifice were very different. The idea of feeding the gods seems never to have entered into their contemplation. Their sacrifices were, simply, offerings of expiation. The guilt of the people was supposed to be transferred from the offenders to

* This idea is ridiculed by Porphyry, who shows that it was the prevailing notion that the gods derived their sustenance from the exhalations of sacrifices. He cites the following lines:

Τίς ὧδε μῶρος καὶ λίαν ἀνειμένος
ἔυπιστος ἀνδρῶν, ὅστις ἐλπίζει θεοὺς
ὀστῶν ἀσάρκων καὶ χολῆς πυρουμένης,
ἃ καὶ κυσὶν πεινώσιν οὐχὶ ῥώσιμα,
χαίρειν ἅπαντας καὶ γέρας λαχεῖν τοδε.

"Who is such a fool, and so stupid and credulous, as to believe, that all the gods are delighted with the bare bones and with the burnt gall of a victim, which will scarcely afford a meal to a hungry dog?"

See Porphyry de Abstinentia, lib. ii. sec. 42, 58. That this was the idea with which the Greeks performed sacrifice is evident from the story of Prometheus, who offended Jupiter by giving him the bones instead of the best pieces of meat. Hesiod. Theog. v. 536. See also Clemens Alexand. Strom. vii. p. 846, edit. Oxon, and the passages collected in the Notes by the editor.

the animal slaughtered; the punishment of their sins, was, in some solemnities, imprecated by the officiating priest on the head of the victim, and its death was supposed to be viewed by the gods as an atonement, or as a vicarious satisfaction. This will appear clearly in the sequel.

Of Human Sacrifices.

As there was scarcely any ancient people who were not in the habit of immolating animals on the altars of their gods, so there were few whose history betrays no traces of human sacrifices. Even the Hebrews cannot be entirely vindicated from the guilt of having perpetrated human sacrifice,* notwithstanding the positive prohibition of the Mosaic law.

Some writers have vainly endeavoured to rescue the Egyptians from the charge of having been addicted to these horrible perpetrations. Herodotus is very peremptory on this subject. Still he could not remove the prejudice of his countrymen, and they continued to repeat, as a proverbial expression, the following line of Homer.

Αἴγυπτον δ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέηντε.†

* I allude to the history of Jephthah, which some Commentators have so strangely perverted from its obvious meaning. Michaëlis is the only author who seems to have placed this subject in the point of view in which it ought to be considered. See this author's Commentaries on the Mosaic Law; and Bruns über Randolph's Erklärung in Eichhornn's Repertorium, Th. viii.

† Strabon. Geog. lib. 17.

Virgil mentions the cruel sacrifices of Busiris, as a matter universally known.

"Quis aut Eurysthea durum,
Aut illaudati nescit Busiridis aras?"*

And Ovid, still more explicitly.

"Cum Thrasius Busirin adit monstratque piari
Hospitis effuso sanguine posse Jovem."†

Diodorus also declares, that it had been the custom in ancient times to immolate men with red hair at the tomb of Osiris.‡ That these sacrifices were really performed, we are also assured by Manethon,§ Plutarch,‖ Porphyry,¶ and Minutius Felix.** To these authorities we may add those of Longus and Apuleius, in the romances of Theagenes and the Golden Ass.††

But all doubt on this subject has been cleared up since the late researches in the Egyptian temples, by European travellers. The sculptures and paintings on the walls of the temples, and in the interior of the catacombs or tombs of the kings in the Thebaid, have

* Georgic. iv. v. 5. † Ovid. Amor. i. 64.

‡ Diod. lib. i. c. 6.

§ Manetho. apud Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv. p. 94.

‖ Plut. de Isid. c. 73.

¶ Porphyry says that these practices were discontinued in the time of Amosis. We learn from Athenæus, that a work was composed by one Seleucus, treating expressly of the human sacrifices practised by the Egyptians.—Athen. lib. iv. p. 172.

** Minut. Felix Octuo. p. 29.

†† According to Manethon, it was in ancient times the custom to burn men alive in the city of Eilythia; after which, the ashes of the victims were winnowed through a sieve, and dispersed in the air.—Plut. ubi suprà.

afforded many curious pieces of information respecting the religious ceremonies, the sciences, and the private manners of the Egyptian people. On the question respecting human sacrifices, they leave us no room for hesitation. M. Denon has found the ceremony of immolating the human victim distinctly portrayed in a temple at Medinet-Abou; and Mr. Hamilton has given us an excellent description of a similar proceeding, exhibited on the cieling of an apartment in the temple of Isis at Tentyra. The figure of a man, with the head and ears of an ass, is seen kneeling on the ground, and bound to a tree. Two knives have been stuck into his forehead, two are in his shoulders, one in his thigh, and another in his body. Five priests stand in a row behind, having heads like hawks and dogs, and holding knives in their hands. The god is clothed in long white robes, and holds in his hands the crozier and the van of Osiris.

Of the Sacrifices of Animals.

Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians refused to offer in sacrifice any other animals than swine, bulls, calves without spot or blemish, and geese. It appears, however, that he alludes to the common practices of the whole Egyptian nation; for it is certain that some other animals were immolated in particular districts.

Of the Sacrifice of Swine.

Swine were only sacrificed to Osiris and to the Moon. On those occasions, the Egyptians ate the

flesh of swine, which at all other times they accounted it unlawful to touch. Their reason for this practice Herodotus says he knew, but did not think it becoming to disclose.*

The following is the account given by this historian, of the sacrifice of hogs to Osiris. "At the supper which was celebrated on the day of the festival of that god, every Egyptian slaughtered a hog before the door of his house, and immediately afterwards gave the carcase to the swineherd from whom he had purchased it, who was allowed to carry it away." In other respects, this solemn feast of Osiris was an exact counterpart of the celebrated festival of the Greeks in honour of Bacchus.†

The sacrifice to the Moon is thus described. After slaughtering the animal, they cut off the end of the tail, and having enclosed these, together with the spleen and the omentum, and the fat of the belly, consumed them in the fire. The remainder of the flesh was, on this occasion, eaten by the people. Those persons who were indigent, made the figure of a swine with meal, and having roasted it, offered it as a sacrifice.

* This reminds us of the prohibition against eating hog's flesh among the Hebrews; but the latter people seem to have avoided it for a different reason. Many motives have been assigned for the command given by Moses to abstain from the flesh of swine. Spencer alone seems to have formed a correct idea. "Judæos antiquiores odio eò majore porcum habuisse, quod animal esset in Gentilium februis, sacrificiis, mysteriis magicis, festis, et pactis sanciendis cum primis usurpatum." —Spencer de Legg. Hebr. p. 120, lib. i.

† Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 47.

Of the Sacrifice of Bulls.

Some of the Egyptian customs, in their sacrifices, bear a curious resemblance to the rites of the Mosaic law, which cannot be referred to accidental coincidence.

All the females of this species were in a peculiar manner sacred to Isis, and were never used as victims.* The Egyptians used only red bullocks in sacrifice, and in this respect were so attentive, that an animal which had only one black or white hair was deemed unfit or impure.† The tail was minutely examined, and the direction of every hair in it observed. The tongue was also drawn out, and the priest examined it, to see if it were free from certain blemishes specified in the sacred books. After the priest had carefully inspected the animal, both standing and lying on its back, if he found it without blemish, he bound its horns with the "Byblos, and put a seal upon it, containing the impression of a man upon his knees, with his hand tied behind him, and a sword pointed at his throat."‡ The meaning of this seems to have been, that the animal was to be killed as a vicarious

* Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 99.

† Herod. lib. 2, cap. 38. Confer Plut. de Isid. cap. 31. It was also forbidden to the Hebrews to sacrifice an heifer that was not red, without blemish.—See Numbers xix. 2. On which Maimonides and the Talmudists remark, that if the heifer had only two black or white hairs, it was reckoned impure.—See Bochart, Hierozoicon, p. 290. Plutarch says the Egyptians chose bulls with reference to the complexion of Typhon.

‡ Castor apud Plut. loc. citat.

sacrifice instead of the person who offered it. The bullock was then led to the altar, on which a fire was kindled and a libation poured; after an invocation to the god, the victim was killed, and its head was immediately cut off. A solemn curse was pronounced upon the head of the animal; the priest imprecating upon it all the evils that threatened those who had offered the victim, or, in public sacrifices, the land of Egypt in general.* Plutarch seems to have supposed that the imprecation was pronounced previously to the slaughtering of the victim. The head which had been cursed was then cut off and thrown into the Nile.† Such was the ancient custom of the Egyptians; but in later times they sold the heads of their victims to the Greeks, instead of throwing them into the river. These ceremonies were observed by all the Egyptians without exception; and on account of the custom of cursing the head of the victim, no person of that nation would eat of the head either of a bullock or any other animal.

The sacrifice of an ox to Isis, whom Herodotus calls the greatest of their goddesses, and in whose honour the most considerable festival was solemnized, is thus described. "They keep a fast previously, and after invoking the goddess, slaughter the victim, and then skin it, and take out the entrails, leaving

* See Leviticus xvii. 4; xvi. 21. Sam. i. 16. Psalms vii. 17. Ezech. xxxiii. 4. Acts xviii. 6. "And Aaron shall lay his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, putting them upon the head of the goat."—Levit. xvi. 21. See also Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i.

† Plutarch, ubi suprà.

the fat and the remaining parts in the body. Then cutting off the legs, the extremity of the chord, the shoulders and the neck, they fill the rest of the body with pure bread and honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics; they then burn it, pouring upon it abundance of oil. While the victim is burning, they whip themselves, and when the whipping scene is concluded, they feast on the residue of the carcase."*

Sacrifices of Sheep.

Strabo asserts that sheep were no where offered to the gods in Egypt, except in the Nitriotic nome, where Sarapis was worshipped; but Herodotus says they were sacrificed in the Mendesian district, of which Pan, under the form of a male-goat, was the tutelar god.†

Even the Thebans, who held the sheep to be particularly sacred, their favourite god Ammon being of this species, put a ram to death once in the year, at the annual festival of Jupiter. They then placed the skin of the animal upon the image of Ammon, and introduced before it the figure of Hercules. After this ceremony, the whole crowd around the temple whipped the ram, and afterwards interred it, enclosed in a sacred chest."‡ These were the only occasions on which the Thebans suffered any creature of this species to be killed.

* Herod. ii. 40. † Strabo, lib. xvii. Herod. ii. 42.
‡ Herod. ii. 42.

Sacrifice of Goats.

Goats were the victims immolated to the Theban Jupiter or Ammon, but with what particular rites this sacrifice was performed we are not told.*

Of Ceremonies relating to Typhon.

There is nothing more curious in the Egyptian ceremonies than those which had respect to Typhon. Some of these rites were intended to soothe and mollify his temper; but the most remarkable seem to have been designed as expressions of resentment and indignation for the evils which he was supposed to have inflicted on the favourite divinities of the Egyptians. On these occasions, the people assailed with insults and reproaches all who happened to have red hair, in which they were supposed to resemble Typhon. The people of Coptos had also a custom of throwing an ass down a precipice. The ass was one of the Typhonian animals.†

At a festival which, from the account given of it by Herodotus, seems to have been the same that Plutarch describes as happening on the seventeenth of Athyri in commemoration of the death of Osiris, it was a custom among the Egyptians to bring forth the dead body of a cow, which lay embalmed in one of their

* Herod.

† This was, according to Plutarch, on account of his colour. Bochart remarks that asses in Palestine and Egypt are generally red. Bochart. Hierozoic. p. 181.

temples. On that occasion, the persons present whipped a certain god, whose name Herodotus does not choose to reveal. Jablonski has shown, by a reference to a passage of Diodorus Siculus, that this god was Typhon.*

On a similar principle, the Egyptians attempted to avert impending evils by torturing their gods. When any great drought happened, occasioned by extreme heat, or when they were afflicted by pestilence or any other public calamity, the priests were accustomed to select some of the sacred animals, and, conducting them with great mystery and silence into some dark place, first attempted by threats to terrify them, and induce them to remove the evils their country suffered; but if this endeavour was unsuccessful, they at length put them to death.† This proceeding took place at no particular time, but whenever the occasion required. It was always done secretly by the priests, without the knowledge of the people.

Annual Festivals of the Egyptians.

Of the annual festivals of the Egyptians, the most distinguished was that celebrated in honour of Bubastis, at the city of Bubastos. The second was the festival of Isis, held at the city of Busiris, which was situated in the middle of the Delta, and contained the largest temple of that goddess. Next to this was the festival of Minerva, at Sais, which was

* Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib. v. c. 2. Confer Diodor. lib. i. p. 23.

† Plut. de Isid. c. 73.

more celebrated than that of the Sun at Heliopolis; the latter was reckoned the fourth in dignity and importance; that of Latona or Butos was the fifth, and the festival of Mars at Papremis was the sixth.

At the festival of Bubastos a vast concourse of people assembled; not fewer as it was said, than seven hundred thousand men and women, without including children. The crowd resorted to the city in vessels, and during their voyage made the air resound on every side with the noise of pipes and tabors, with singing and clapping of hands. When they approached any town on their passage to Bubastos, they brought their vessels to shore; some of the women then continued their music, while others called aloud on the females of the place, provoking them with insults, dancing all the time, and using the most wanton and indecent gestures. This scene was repeated at every town on the course of the river. When they arrived at Bubastos, they slaughtered a great many victims, and on this occasion more wine was consumed than during all the remainder of the year.

At the festival of Isis at Busiris, the sacrifice of oxen took place which we have above described. On this occasion the whole assembly to the number of many thousands, whipped themselves. The Carians, who happened to be resident in Egypt, also cut their faces with knives.

The festival of Minerva at Sais was held by night: it was called the feast of lamps. All the people suspended lamps before their houses, which they kept burning through the whole night. Not only Sais was illuminated, but all Egypt likewise; for those who did not attend the festival burnt lamps before their houses on the evening dedicated to this goddess.

The festivals of Heliopolis and Butos were distinguished by no remarkable ceremonies: they consisted simply in the performance of certain sacrifices. The rites in honour of Mars at Papremis were very remarkable. At this festival, a great number of priests, armed with clubs, placed themselves in the evening at the entrance of the temple, while the regular attendants on the god began to draw on a four-wheeled carriage the image of Mars, placed in a case of gold. This image had been purposely removed from its place on the preceding day. The armed priests at the entrance of the temple disputed the passage; when a crowd of men, armed likewise with clubs, who stood without prepared for the conflict, immediately came to the succour of the god. A sharp engagement then ensued, and many heads were broken in the fray, though the Egyptians positively asserted that no lives were lost.

Some other festivals of the Egyptians have been mentioned above, as connected with the rites, and bearing a reference to the history of Isis and Osiris. It is unnecessary to say any thing further respecting them in this place.

There is one common circumstance relating to the times at which most of the Egyptian festivals were solemnized;—they were held at the New Moon or the Full Moon. This is particularly noticed, in several instances, by the ancient writers who have given us an account of these solemnities.*

* This circumstance has not escaped Jablonski, who notices it in the Prolegomena to his Ægyptian Pantheon.

This is expressly mentioned by Plutarch with respect to the

festival in the month Phamenoth, which happened at the full moon, at which period the entrance of Osiris into the Moon, and the fertilizing of the sublunary world, was celebrated: cap. 43. Likewise the festival relating to the death of Osiris was solemnized at the full moon in the month Athyri: cap. 42. Other references to the periods of the Moon occur in Plutarch's Treatise. See capp. 42, 43, 52. The festival of Osiris, and that of Isis, are mentioned by Herodotus. They happened both at the full of the Moon.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CIVIL INSTITUTIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

SECTION I.

Distribution of the People into Castes. Enumeration of the Castes, and Description of them.

Among the institutions of Egypt, none was more important in its influence upon the character of the nation, than the division of the people into tribes or families, who were obliged by the laws and superstitions of the country to follow without deviation the professions and habits of their forefathers. Such an institution could not fail of impressing the stamp of abject servility on the lower classes; and, by removing in a great measure the motive of emulation, it must have created, in all, apathy and indifference to improvement in their particular professions. Wherever the system of castes has existed, it has produced a remarkably permanent and uniform character in the nation; as in the example furnished by the natives of Hindoostan. These people agree in almost every point with the description given of them by Megasthenes, who visited the court of an Indian king soon after the conquest of the East by the Macedonians.

We have no very accurate and circumstantial accounts of the castes into which the Egyptian

people were divided, and of the particular customs of each. It appears, indeed, that innovations on the old civil and religious constitution of Egypt had begun to be introduced as early as the time of Psammitichus, when the ancient aversion of the people to foreigners was first overcome. The various conflicts which the nation underwent between that era and the time when Herodotus visited Egypt, could not fail to break down many of the fences which ancient priest-craft had established, for maintaining the influence of superstition. Herodotus is the earliest writer who mentions the castes or hereditary classes of the Egyptians, and his account appears to be the result of his personal observation only. Had this historian understood the native language of the people; had he been able to read the books of Hermes, in which the old sacerdotal institutions were contained, we might have expected from him as correct and ample a description of the distribution of the castes in Egypt, as that which modern writers have gained in India from the code of Menu, respecting the orders and subdivision of the community in Hindoostan. Diodorus, who had the advantage of consulting Egyptian authors in the Greek language, and who seems to have made a diligent use of this opportunity, may be supposed to be more accurate, in what refers to the internal polity of this nation, than Herodotus, who, though a diligent observer, was deficient in so many important qualifications.

It has often been conjectured that the subdivision of people into castes may have taken its rise from the intermixture of various nations, or may have been the effect of repeated conquests, the vanquished race

being continually degraded into a lower rank in the community. It has been supposed, for example, that the abject Parriars are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of India; that these people were first conquered and reduced into subordination by Sudras, who may have been for some time the domineering caste, until they in turn were overcome by the Brahmans and Cshatriyas, who forced them to become labourers, and still further degraded the Parriars into the lowest station of servility. It is possible that this conjecture may be not wholly without foundation, as far as it relates to the people of Hindoostan; but we have no countenance from history for attempting to apply such a solution to the same problem in Egypt. The people of Egypt are constantly described as one unmixed and undivided nation. We have not the slightest hint that there existed among them any diversity of race or of language, and we have grounds for concluding that the idioms of the several castes, as well as those prevailing in the various districts of Egypt, were not remarkably different from each other.*

Strabo has mentioned, in a very summary manner, the division of the Egyptian nation into classes. He distinguishes the two higher ranks, namely, the sacerdotal and the military classes, and includes all the remainder of the community under the designation

* The analysis of geographical names alone affords sufficient data for drawing this inference, which is placed beyond doubt by a comparison of the dialects of the Egyptian language, viz. the Coptic, the Sahidic, and Bahiric or Memphitic.

of the agricultural class, to whom he assigns the employments of agriculture and the arts.*

Diodorus subdivides this latter class. After distinguishing from it the sacerdotal and military orders, he observes that the remainder of the community is distributed into three divisions, which he terms,

3. Herdsmen.
4. Agriculturists; and
5. Artificers, or men who laboured at trades.

Herodotus very nearly agrees in his enumeration with that of Diodorus. His names for the different classes are as follow:

1. Priests, or the sacerdotal class.
2. Warriors, or the military class.
3. Cowherds.
4. Swineherds.
5. Traders.
6. Interpreters.
7. Pilots.†

In this catalogue the third and fourth class are plainly subdivisions of the third of Diodorus, whom that writer includes under the general title of herdsmen. The caste of interpreters, as well as that of pilots, must have comprised a very small number of men, since the Egyptians had little intercourse with foreigners, and all their navigation was confined to sailing up and down the Nile. The pilots were probably a tribe of the same class with the artificers or labouring artisans of Diodorus.§ The traders of Herodotus

* Strabo, lib. xvii.

† It is remarkable that Megasthenes, in his Account of the Indian Castes, mentions the Navigators of rivers (Νᾶυται τῶν ποταμῶν) as a part of the class of artisans, or Τεχνῖται.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. i.

must be the same class who are called agriculturists by Diodorus.

Thus, by comparing the different accounts, we are enabled to arrange the several branches of the Egyptian community in the following classes:

1. The Sacerdotal order.
2. The Military.
3. The Herdsmen.
4. The Agricultural and Commercial class.
5. The Artificers, or labouring Artisans.

The employments of all these classes were hereditary, and no man was allowed by the law to engage in any occupation different from that in which he had been educated by his parents.* This prohibition must obviously have extended further than the limitation of the above mentioned classes, each of which comprehended a variety of distinct occupations. Hence it would appear that every class was subdivided into a number of castes, the individuals comprised in each being bound to follow a particular profession, inherited from their ancestry.

It was accounted an honourable distinction to belong either to the sacerdotal or the military class. The other orders were considered greatly inferior in dignity,† and no Egyptian could mount the throne who was not descended from the priesthood or the soldiery.‡ The possession of the soil of Egypt belonged exclusively to these two classes, and to the king, by whom it was let out at easy rents to the husbandmen.

* Diod. lib. i. cap. 6. Herod. lib. iii.

† Herod. lib. ii. 168.

‡ Herod. lib. ii. Plut. de Isid. &c. cap. 9.

"The latter," says Diodorus, "being bred up from infancy in the practice of rural business, are the most skilful agriculturists in the world, and they are acquainted with many things unknown elsewhere, partly by means of the knowledge gained from their ancestors, and partly from their own experience." If any tradesman meddled with public business, or attempted to exercise more than one trade, he was severely punished.

The privileged orders in Egypt domineered over the productive classes of society. We have seen that they shared with the king the entire possession of the soil, to which those who cultivated it laid no claim. To each individual of the military and sacerdotal orders a portion of ground was allotted, equal to twelve acres, exempt from all taxes. The warriors also enjoyed other privileges. This class was divided into two great tribes, called the Calasirians and Hermotybians. One thousand men, selected annually from each of these bodies, constituted the king's guard; and while they were on this service they obtained, besides the produce of their allotment in land, an allowance of bread, beef, and wine, to each man. It was unlawful for any individual of the warrior-caste to engage in a mercantile or mechanical occupation.* Several of the most fertile and populous districts of Egypt belonged to these two tribes: those which were occupied by the Hermotybians furnished, at the highest calculation, one hundred and sixty thousand men, and the district of the Calasirians two hundred fifty thousand.† The reason assigned for allotting

* Herod. ii. cap. 165, 166. † Ibid.

so large a portion of territory to the military profession is, that those who had arms in their hands might have a considerable stake in the country, if we may venture to use a modern phrase which appears to coincide with Egyptian ideas.* It was likewise believed by the Egyptians, as by the founders of the feudal system in modern Europe, that virtues are hereditary, and that fathers who distinguished themselves in defending their country were likely to be succeeded by children equally valiant and patriotic. Every encouragement was therefore given to the increase of the military families, and to promoting marriages in this caste.†

SECTION II.

Description of the Hierarchy or Hereditary Priesthood, and its Subdivisions.

In no country in the world did the hierarchy ever hold more paramount sway than in Egypt. We learn, from the faithful pen of the great Hebrew lawgiver and historian, how soon this order had adopted all the vices to which sacerdotal bodies appear to be particularly exposed. At the same time they deserve commendation for their care in the improvement of sciences, and for many wise laws which were enacted under their influence. Their greatest crimes were, the propagation of a debasing superstition, and the

* Diodor. Sic. lib. i. cap. 6. † Ibid.

concealment of knowledge from the mass of the community.

We shall consider the priesthood of Egypt in their three characters: 1. In their political office, as the legal advisers of the kings, and virtual rulers of the state. 2. As the depositories of learning and science. 3. As the officers of religion.

1. "The priests," says Diodorus, "were free from all public burdens and taxes, and were next to the king in authority." It appears, however, from the evidence of the same writer, that all political power was in reality in the hands of the priests, and that the king was merely an instrument for effecting their purposes. "The first portion of the land of Egypt was allotted to the priests; the second to the king." "The former were highly reverenced, and had great authority over the people, through the influence of their piety towards the gods, and their great wisdom and learning." "From their revenues they provided sacrifices, and maintained their families." "They were always at the king's elbow, as his privy counsellors, to instruct and direct him upon all occasions." It appears that the king was not allowed to perform any action without the superintendance of these constitutional directors. The sons of the priests were his companions from the cradle. Every article of his diet was prescribed for him, as well as the hours at which he should dispatch public business, and administer justice; and the times were fixed when it was proper for him to take the air, to bathe, and even to perform every trivial action of his life. The means by which the priesthood secured the possession of their prerogatives was the opinion that they possessed the

knowledge of futurity, and that they were the interpreters of the will of the gods. "They foretold events by the help of astrology, and by viewing the entrails of victims."

It appears, indeed, that in all times of the Egyptian monarchy, nothing was more common than the elevation of a priest to the throne itself. The laws admitted it, and we find among the names of the Egyptian kings many that are merely sacerdotal titles.*

Not only political affairs were under the guidance of the priests, but the whole system of Egyptian jurisprudence or civil administration was in their hands. All the laws of this people had been enacted by the gods, that is, by the priests who pretended to be the interpreters of the will of the gods. Mnevis was the most famous legislator;† Mnevis was also the celebrated Bull of Heliopolis; and these were probably the same personage; but a bull would have made a sorry lawgiver, without the assistance of a sage who understood his language and knew how to act the part of an interpreter. This bull, Mnevis, seems, as we have hinted, to have been the prototype of the Cretan Minotaur, and perhaps also of the celebrated Minos.

But the priests not only made laws, but had also the office of watching over their execution, and of conducting the whole judicial government. Ælian informs us that the judges had been from all antiquity chosen,

* Shortly before the reign of Psammitichus, Sethon, a priest of Vulcan, was king of Egypt. In the catalogues of Manethon and Eratosthenes, we have abundance of names which are evidently the titles of priests.

† Diodor. lib. i.

in Egypt, from among the priests.* The judges wore, as a badge of office, an image made of sapphire, and suspended by a gold chain from their necks, which represented Truth.† The intention of this symbol was to remind them that a judge ought of all men to be most upright, humane, and impartial.‡

These important offices were too various and multiplied to be exercised by the same individuals; and it appears that the sacerdotal class in Egypt was subdivided into several distinct orders, who had different

* Ælian, Vas. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 34.

† Diodor. lib. i. Ælian, loc. cit.

‡ The Ἀληθεῖα, or image of Truth, has been conjectured by some to have been the model of the Urim and Thummim of the Mosaic ritual. There is no other foundation for this idea than the circumstance that the LXX have interpreted the Hebrew Urim, by the Greek word Ἀληθεῖα. This, as Dr. Woodward has observed, only proves that the Jews who translated the Pentateuch could find nothing more analogous in the ideas and phrases of the Egyptian Greeks than this term. The only analogy however was, that both the Urim and the Egyptian image of Truth were ornaments worn on solemn occasions. See Dr. Woodward on the Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians, Archæology, vol. iv.

The Urim and Thummim have been the subject of much controversy. The most probable opinion respecting them, and perhaps the best supported, is that of Michaëlis, who supposes them to have been a sacred lot, by the use of which doubts were resolved, as by an appeal to the Deity. They were used in judicial cases to discover the guilty, but not to convict them, for in the only two instances which occur of their use in such cases, viz. in Josh. vii. 14, &c. and Sam. xiv. 37, &c. we find the confession of the two delinquents annexed. See Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law, vol. iv. p. 358 of Dr. Smith's translation.

occupations assigned to them, and held different degrees in honour and authority. Several of these orders are mentioned in a celebrated passage of Clemens of Alexandria, which it will be worth while to cite in this place.*

"The Egyptians have a peculiar philosophy of their own, of which the order of their religious processions will afford an idea. In these solemn pomps, the Singer usually precedes, bearing some musical symbol. It is his office to carry two of the books of Hermes; one of which contains the hymns of the gods, and the other, precepts referring to the duties of the king. The singer is followed by the Horoscopus, who bears in his hand the measure of time and branches of palm, the symbols of astrology; this person ought to be perfectly versed in the Hermaic books treating of astrology. These books are four in number: one of them treats of the disposition of the fixed stars; another of the conjunctions and illuminations of the sun and moon; and the remainder of the risings of the stars. The Hierogrammateus comes next, having feathers on his head, and in his hands a book and a ruler, with ink and a reed, with which the Egyptians write.† It is his province to understand the hieroglyphical books, as they are termed, containing the description of the world, geography, the course of the sun and moon, and five planets; he

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. cap. 4.

† Michaëlis has compared the costume of the Hierogrammateus with a description in Ezechiel. See Michaëlis, on the Mosaic Law, vol. iii. p. 383, English translation by Dr. Smith.

must also be acquainted with the description of Egypt and the Nile, with the nature of the instruments, and the places appointed for them, and with the measures, and all other things used in the sacred rites. After these goes the Stolistes, bearing the staff of justice and the cup of libation, who presides over all that relates to the education and to the choice of victims; these subjects are distributed in ten books, which comprehend the honours paid to the gods, and the Egyptian worship, the rites of sacrifices, first fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, festivals, and similar topics.* Last of all comes forth the Prophet, bearing the urn of water in his bosom, and followed by persons who carry the loaves of bread. The prophet, who presides over all sacred things is obliged to learn the contents of the ten sacerdotal books relating to the laws, the gods, and the whole discipline of the priests. The prophet, also, among the Egyptians, overlooks the distribution of the public revenues. Thus it appears that there are forty-two books attributed to Hermes, which are accounted most necessary: thirty-six of these, containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians, are studied by the persons above mentioned; the other six, treating of medicine, belong to the Pastophori."†

Several of these departments of the hierarchy are enumerated by Porphyry, under names but little different from those of Clemens. He mentions the Prophets, the Hierostolistæ, the Hierogrammates, and

* These books are termed by Clemens, Moschosphagistica, or, as we probably should read, Moschosphragistica.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. p. 633.

even the Horologi, among the higher orders, and the Pastophori together with the crowd of Neocori, or Æditui, and ministering priests of a lower rank. He speaks of the Moscho-sphragistæ in another place.

In the foregoing passages we distinguish the following orders:

1. The Prophets, who seem to have enjoyed the first rank in the hierarchy. It appears that they held the highest authority in all divine and human affairs: they presided over the worship of the gods, the administration of laws, and the public revenues.

2. The Stolistæ. The selection of victims, as well as the direction of all that related to sacrifices, seems to have belonged to them.

In the order of Stolistæ were probably included, as a subordinate branch, the Sphragistæ, or Moscho-sphragistæ, mentioned by Plutarch * and Porphyry,† whose duty it was to select victims and impress upon them the seal which marked their dedication to the purpose of sacrifice.

3. The Hierogrammates, or sacred scribes, who were the depositories of all the learning and science of ancient Egypt. The ten books which were appropriated to this order were termed, by distinction, hieroglyphical. The sacred scribes are frequently mentioned by Josephus in his extracts from Manethon, as well as by other writers.‡ Lucian speaks of one of them, who, though the discipline of Hermes had long been on the decline, pretended to be well

* Plutarch de Iside, 31.

† Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 7.

‡ Joseph, Epist. adversûs Apion.

acquainted with all the mystical learning of Egypt, having spent twenty-three years in subterranean dwellings, where he had been instructed by Isis in the occult sciences.* This appears to have been the order of men, who are called Arpedonaptæ, or Arsepedonaptæ, in a passage of Democritus, copied by Clemens and by Eusebius.† The philosopher boasts that he was a match for the most learned of the Egyptian Arpedonaptæ, in drawing lines and constructing diagrams.

4. The Horoscopi, or Horologi, who exercised astrology, and probably magic of every description, unless we suppose that sorcery belonged to a separate body, not mentioned in this place.

5. Singers are mentioned as going first in the procession; and it is probable that singing and music constituted a particular branch of study. They chanted hymns to the Sun thrice in each day‡.

6. The Pastophori were an order of priests frequently mentioned by the ancient writers. Their title seems to be derived, as Mr. Cuper § has shown, from the "παστον," or ornamented chamber, tabernacle, or shrine, in which the images of the gods were either carried about at the processions on the shoulders of these priests, or drawn on waggons with four wheels. Diodorus‖ says that the order of "Κηρυκες," or heralds at the Eleusinian mysteries, was derived from this Egyptian college. From this circumstance, and from

* Lucian in Philopseude.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. cap. 15, item Euseb. Præp. Evangel.

‡ Ibid.

§ Cuper's Harpocrates, p. 129, et seqq. ‖ Lib. i.

the nature of their office, it might be supposed that they held a low rank in the hierarchy; and we find them mentioned, by Clemens of Alexandria,* among the officiating priests of the temples. Porphyry also joins with them the Neocori, or Æditui, and the priests who performed the lowest offices in the service of the gods.† Yet the order of Pastophori is termed by Apuleius, "sacrosanctum collegium;" and a member of this body is described by him as "clothed with consecrated linen robes, bearing the thyrsi and ivy, and some other badges, which must not be named."

It appears from the passage before cited from Clemens, that the practice of medicine was the lot of the Pastophori. In Greece we recognize this order of sacerdotal physicians of Egyptian origin, under the title of Ἰατρομαντεῖς.‡

Cuper has treated at length on the office of the Pastophori,§ in his learned work on Harpocrates.

7. Besides the Pastophori, it would appear that there were some other inferior orders in the priesthood, corresponding to the Neocori of the Greeks, and the Æditui of the Roman temples. They performed the lowest duties in all the sacred rites and ceremonies.

It appears that these distinctions of office in the Egyptian hierarchy were as ancient as the times of

† Clem. Alex. Paidagog. lib. iii.

* Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. iv. cap. 8.

‡ Æschyl. Supplic. Mulieres, v. 316.

§ See Cuper's Harpocrates, p. 132, et seqq.

the patriarch Joseph, and of Moses. For in Genesis and Exodus we meet with several denominations which are descriptive of the different orders. The priests are called Cohenim, כהנים.* The wise men, or Chacamim, חכמים, who are termed Σοφισται by the LXX, are the persons so celebrated in the history of Moses and Aaron. Jablonski supposes these to be the sacred scribes; but this is uncertain: they are mentioned together with the Sorcerers, Mecashphim, מכשפים, or Φαρμακιοι, and both seem to be included under the term which our translators render *Magicians*. This is Charetummim, חרטמים. The LXX translate it in this place, ἐπαοιδοι, Enchanters; in other passages they render the same word ἐξηγῆται, or *expounders of mysteries*.† The performances of these persons seem rather to agree with the character of the Horoscopi than with that of the sacred scribes. The physicians, or pastophori, are also distinguished; and it was their duty, as in later times, not only to heal the body when sick, but to embalm it after death.‡

* Genesis, xlvi. 20. This word is rendered in the Coptic version by the Coptic term *P'hont*, a high-priest, a word which enters into the composition of many ancient Egyptian names and titles. Thus Potiphar, or Pentephreh, as this name is written by Africanus, means "Priest of the Sun."

† Herod. lib. ii. cap. 37.

‡ Bishop Warburton conjectures that the office of embalming bodies was confided to the physicians with the intent of enabling them to make inquiries in morbid anatomy. I fear that the claim of this crafty priesthood to such enlightened views, rests on no very sure ground. See book iv. sect. 5. of the Divine Legation.

It appears further that these various duties were hereditary, and that each division of the hierarchy formed a distinct caste; for Herodotus informs us that the service of every god was confided to a college of priests, who were under the superintendance of a president, or pontiff, and that this dignity was handed down from the father to the son.

SECTION III.

Religious Observances of the Sacerdotal Class in Egypt.

Many of the customs observed by the Sacerdotal Class in Egypt are deserving of our attention, not only as throwing light on the religious ideas prevalent in that country, but on account of the relation they seem to bear either to the institutions of the Hebrews or of the Eastern nations. For our knowledge of most of these circumstances we are indebted to Plutarch and, more especially, to Porphyry; who, in the fourth book of his Treatise on Abstinence, has described, from the works of Chæremon, the manner of life followed by the Egyptian priests.

Most of these rites or prohibitions may be referred to the idea of purity necessary to be observed by the ministers of the gods; though it is sometimes difficult to imagine why the articles forbidden were supposed to communicate defilement, or how the notion of any peculiar sanctity or fitness for religious services could be connected with the ordinance.

There were certain times of solemn purification, when all the rules of abstinence were more rigidly observed than on other occasions. These occurred when the priests were preparing for any of the great festivals in honour of the gods. It was reckoned needful to purify themselves beforehand for the performance of ceremonies, by observing a peculiar degree of solemnity in their manners, and by carefully removing every source of defilement. The seasons of purification continued sometimes forty-two days, but never less than seven, before the religious festivals.*

1. All kinds of animal food were forbidden during these holy days; and this prohibition extended so far that even eggs were included.

Many of the priests; perhaps some particular sects, or those who sought to obtain the character of superior sanctity, or to exalt themselves either on earth or in a future state, by their good works; abstained at all times from eating the flesh of any living creature. Others ate animal food, but under many restrictions respecting the particular kinds that might be eaten; and it appears that they only ate those animals which were deemed pure or fit for sacrifice.

The sheep was never eaten by the priests.† The hog was accounted particularly unclean, and never eaten except at the annual festival of Osiris; when it was sacrificed to that god at the time of the full moon, and on that occasion the priests partook of it.‡ At other times it was forbidden to all, except to one

* See an account of these ἁγνεῖαι, or purifications, in Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 6 et 7.

† Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. cap. 8. ‡ Plutarch, 5.

caste, who fed hogs, and were consequently reckoned so impure that they were not permitted to enter the temples of the gods.*

Of the ox-kind the females were never eaten, being all sacred to Isis:† of males, such as were twin-born, or spotted, or had any variety of form or colour, were forbidden to be eaten or sacrificed; as were also those which had been submitted to the yoke, and which wanted an eye, or were fancied to bear a resemblance to the human countenance. These rules, and a great many others, were contained in the books termed "Moscho-sphragistica."‡

All quadrupeds which had solid hoofs, or hoofs many-cleft, were forbidden, as well as those that were destitute of horns. ‖

All carnivorous birds were unclean, and all fishes, because they were supposed to feed upon their own kinds.§

Several vegetable productions were impure, and were carefully abstained from, especially in the times of purification. All kinds of pulse were at these times forbidden; and it was from the Egyptians that Pythagoras appears to have derived his objection to beans. The same restriction extended to most other kinds of garden-herbs.¶

All exotics, or the productions of other countries, and such as could not be raised in Egypt, were forbidden.** Michaëlis supposes this prohibition to have originated in a motive of policy, and that its object

* Herod. 2. Plut. ibid. † Herod. 2.
‡ Porphyrius ubi suprà. ‖ Porphyrius.
§ Herod. 2. Plutarch, cap. 7. ¶ Porphyr. ** Ibid.

was to prevent the importation of articles of luxury from foreign countries into Egypt.* This is not improbable; but the prohibition was made under a fradulent pretence and confirmed by a religious sanction—an instance of priestcraft exerting itself for the good of the community.

Under this head wine and oil were prohibited.

In the time of Hecatæus and Herodotus the priests had a certain allowance of wine;† but this, as Plutarch assures us, was an instance of the laxity introduced since intercourse with the Greeks and other foreigners had become frequent, and had given rise to various innovations on the rigid manners of antiquity.‡ Previously to the reign of Psammitichus, wine had been wholly forbidden to the priests; and the lower castes probably had it not in their power to procure it. Certainly it was never a common article of diet in Egypt. ‖

Oil likewise was abstained from, or was taken under restrictions, which indicate that its use was deemed unlawful.§

* Michaëlis, Mosaïsches Recht. † Herod.

‡ Plut. de Isid. cap. 8.

¶ In Genesis we read of Pharaoh's butler, and find that the king drank the juice of the vine; but it was must, or the unfermented juice, and not wine, as Michaëlis has remarked. See Genesis, chap. xl. v. 9—13.

The Egyptians, instead of wine, drank a kind of beer. See Herod. lib. ii. Æschylus alludes to this as to a very strange custom, and shows that his countrymen regarded the Egyptians with contempt for drinking beer, just as the English despise the French because they wear wooden shoes.

§ Porphyry.

Bread was forbidden during the holy days. At other times, when the priests ate it, they beat it up with hyssop, which was supposed to purify it from all its pernicious or defiling qualities.*

Salt was reckoned impure, and was forbidden during the times of purification.†

Hair, wool, or the spontaneous growth of any animal, was supposed to communicate defilement. Accordingly the priests were forbidden to wear any woollen garments. They clothed themselves in linen vestments, and wore shoes made of the byblos.‡ They lay on beds woven with the twigs of the palm-tree, and used for pillows polished pieces of wood of a semi-cylindrical form. ‖ From a similar notion they shaved every third day the whole of their bodies.§ The Egyptian priests are always represented in paintings and sculptures with shaven heads. It appears, however, that this custom was confined to the male sex. Female figures are frequently seen in the pomps or religious processions depicted in the Egyptian temples, having their heads covered with hair.¶

On some solemn occasions the Egyptians thought it necessary to appear with bare feet. In this particular they were imitated by the Pythagoreans. "The philosopher," said Pythagoras, "who came naked from his mother's womb, should appear naked, that is, with bare feet, before his god."**

* Porphyr. † Plutarch, cap. 5.

‡ Herod. lib. 2. Plutarch de Isid, cap. 4.

‖ Porphyr. ubi suprà. § Herodotus, ubi suprà.

¶ See Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, tom. ii. pl. 286, &c.

** Demophili Sententiæ Pythagoreæ. Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law, translated by Dr. Smith, vol. i. p. 485.

They affected a particularly solemn gesture, never laughed, walked with a demure gait, and at certain times refrained from winking their eye-lids.*

Some of the circumstances supposed to occcasion defilement remind us of the legal pollutions of the Mosaic law.†

A person became defiled by contact with a dead body, or by merely entering a house where a dead body lay. Diogenes Läertius informs us that when Pythagoras returned from a funeral or from the house of a woman in labour, he took care to undergo certain rites of purification. We can scarcely find room to doubt that Pythagoras derived this notion from his Egyptian instructors. Euripides alludes to similar ideas, as prevalent among the worshippers of Diana in Greece;‡ and in some verses of the same poet, preserved by Porphyry, we find several ideas and customs of the Egyptian priesthood ascribed to the Idæan Curetes, or priests of Jupiter in Crete.

πάνλευκα δ' ἔχων εἵματα φεύγω
γένεσίν τε βροτῶν, καὶ νεκροθήκης
οὐ χριμπτόμενος, τήν τ' ἐμψύχων
βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαι. ||

"I lead a chaste life, clothed in white garments; avoid the approach of a dead body, and the pollution incurred by eating the flesh of animals."

* Porphyr. de Abstin. ubi suprà.

† See the 7th chapter of the fourth book of Porphyry, where several of these causes of pollution are enumerated.

‡ Eurip. Iphig. in Taurid. v. 380.

|| Porphyr. lib. iv. cap. 19.

The Egyptian priests made frequent use of water, by way of lustration or purification. Every priest was obliged to wash himself with cold water twice in the day and twice by night; or, according to Porphyry, three times in the day—on rising from bed, before the principal meal, and on going to rest.*

The last custom which I think it worth while to notice is the very celebrated rite of circumcision. This rite, though some have asserted the contrary, was in Egypt confined to the sacerdotal order: it was not practised by the mass of the community. Herodotus, indeed, in one passage, expresses himself equivocally on this subject;† but in another he restricts circumcision to the children of the priests.‡ It appears, from Josephus's Letter to Apion, that it was not performed indiscriminately on all Egyptians, but on comparatively a few persons. ‖ Horapollo mentions it as the peculiar custom of the sacred order,§ and Origen has specified the individuals who were required to submit to this rite. He says, "Every Egyptian priest, augur, or other minister of religion or prophet, undergoes circumcision; neither is any person admitted to learn the sacerdotal characters of the old Egyptians, unless he shall previously have complied with this ordinance."¶ Accordingly we learn that Pythagoras, before he could be initiated in the mysterious learning of Egypt, was obliged to conform to the

* Compare Herod. lib. 4. and Porphyr. lib. 4.

† Herod. lib. ii. cap. 37. ‡ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 36.

‖ Joseph. Epist. ad Apion.

§ De Cynocephalo. Horapoll. Hieroglyph.

¶ Origen Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, cap. ii. 13.

established custom. Lastly, in the verses of Anaxandrides, cited from Athenæus in the former part of this work, it is observed that the priests undergo circumcision; without any notice that it was performed on persons of other castes.*

There was another custom nearly akin to this rite, of the precise nature of which we are not informed. Strabo says it was a law among the Egyptians, "καὶ τὰ θῆλεα ἐκτέμνειν."

As all the sacred observances of the priesthood could be maintained in no other country but Egypt, and as by travelling in foreign lands an Egyptian would necessarily expose himself to numberless pollutions, it was reckoned one of the most impious of actions to embark and go by sea to any distant country. This was only permitted to those who were sent with a royal commission to transact some public business.†

* Vide suprà, p. 21.

† Porphyr. ubi suprà.

This prejudice exists in the same degree among the Brahmans of India. Indeed, the whole tenor of the system of observances we have been surveying is in strict conformity with the prejudices of the Hindoos. We cannot trace every particular custom among them; but it is evident that similar habits of thought, and the same fundamental principles, modified by various circumstances, have displayed their effect on both of these nations.

NOTE

ON

BOOK IV. CHAPTER III.

It is curious to observe the very permanent effect produced on the state of human society by the institution of hereditary castes. We have already hinted at a fact which furnishes a proof and illustration of this remark; that is, the agreement between the present civil condition of the Hindoos, and the description given of the same nation by Megasthenes, who visited their country nearly three centuries before the Christian era. But a still more striking circumstance is the coincidence between the customs of the Egyptians as described by ancient historians, and the habits of the Hindoos, as exhibited in their present state and laid down in the code of their lawgiver Menu. It will not be departing too widely from our subject to make this comparison.

Megasthenes accompanied the Macedonian conqueror into India, in the course of which expedition he had an opportunity of surveying the Punjab. He was afterwards sent by Seleucus on a mission to the king of the Prasii, and resided some time at the court of Palibothra. He had therefore on the whole a sufficient opportunity of becoming acquainted with the customs of the Indians. His original account has not descended to our days; but it is probable that the chief part of the information it contained has been preserved by Arrian, Strabo, and Diodorus. The accounts indeed which these writers have transmitted of the Indian tribes on the authority of Megasthenes, agree so closely among themselves, as to indicate that they have been extracted with little alteration from the original work. Arrian is the most minute and circumstantial in his description; but Strabo and Diodorus have recorded some particulars which he has omitted.

The following is a translation of those passages in Arrian's Indica which contain his account of the Indian classes or tribes; with the additions of some circumstances which he has omitted, from the works of other compilers, who derived their information from the same source.

"The whole Indian nation," says Arrian, "is divided into seven principal tribes. One of these consists of the Wise Men, who are inferior to the other tribes in number, but the most elevated in rank and public esteem. For they are neither obliged to perform any bodily labour, nor to contribute from the produce of their exertions to the public revenue. In short, the Wise Men have no other duty imposed upon them than that of celebrating the sacrifices to the gods in behalf of the Indian commonwealth; it is likewise ordained that, if any individual makes an offering in private, he must be assisted by one of the Wise Men, as superintendant of the sacred rites, the sacrifice not being supposed, without such a precaution, to be pleasing to the gods. These persons, out of the whole Indian people, are alone skilled in the art of prophecy, nor is the exercise of it permitted to any other individuals. They prophecy concerning the seasons, and anticipate any public calamities that are about to befal the nation, but cannot so exert their skill respecting the private affairs of individuals, whether because they imagine that the power of augury does not extend to minute particulars, or deem such matters unworthy of their time and labour."

Arrian further observes, that the Wise Men go naked and live in the open air, taking shelter from the heat of the sun in the summer, under a kind of large trees, one of which seen by Nearchus, was so extensive that its shadow covered five acres of ground, and was of sufficient space to protect ten thousand persons from the solar rays.* He adds, that their sustenance consists of fruits and vegetable matters.

Diodorus terms this tribe "Philosophers." He says "they preside over funerals, as being acquainted with the affairs of

* These are doubtless the Banyan trees.

the nether regions, for which service they receive considerable rewards and honours." In other particulars, this author agrees in the substance of his description with Arrian.

"The sixth tribe of Indians," whom we shall mention in the second place, for reasons that will presently appear, "are those called Episcopi or Overseers: they inspect whatever is going on in the country and in the cities, and give information to the king in places where a monarchical government is established, or to the magistrates in independent cities. It is reckoned criminal for them to make any false report, nor has any accusation of this description been brought against them."

The seventh tribe are persons who consult with the king on public affairs, or with the magistrates in independent states. The number of this class is small; but for wisdom and integrity they are the most distinguished. From this body are selected the magistrates, including governors of districts, deputy governors, treasurers, commanders of troops and of ships, store-keepers, and the superintendants of rustic affairs.

These three tribes are evidently subdivisions of the great Brahman caste, certain families of which follow secular employments. How accurately this description of Megasthenes agrees with modern usages will be evident from the following observations.

The proper office of a Brahman is meditation on divine things, and his proper mode of subsistence is by begging. But owing to the corruptions of these latter times, many of the noble caste are obliged to betake themselves to what they consider as unworthy occupations, "such as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of revenue, and accountants; nay, some even condescend to cultivate the earth by means of slaves." Hence, as Dr. F. Buchanan observes, "arises the distinction of Brahmans into Vaidika and Lokika. The diversity of employment does not create an absolute distinction of castes. The daughter of a Vaidika may marry a Lokika, or the son of a Lokika betake himself to the occupation of a Vaidika; but such instances are uncommon, especially of the latter case, in which the new Vaidika is always looked upon as

of ignoble birth, and the family is not considered as pure till after several generations, devoted to study and mortification."

The description of the sixth and seventh classes from Arrian proves that these were divisions of the Lokika Brahmans. The latter agrees remarkably with the following account of a set of officers known in Southern India, under the name of Tahsildars.

"The duty of the Tahsildar," says Dr. Buchanan, "is to travel through the districts, inspecting the conduct of the village officers, so as to prevent them from oppressing the farmers, and from cultivating any ground except that which pays rent. He superintends the repairs of tanks and canals, receives the rents from village officers, and transmits them with care to the general treasury. He acts as civil magistrate in the first instance, deciding all causes; but in every case there is an appeal to the collector. As officer of the police he takes up all criminals, and, having examined witnesses, sends an account of the proceedings to the collector, who either orders punishment, or, if not satisfied, personally investigates the matter."

The account of the Brahmans of Malabar by Mr. Forbes so strikingly agrees with the description of Arrian, that I cannot forbear citing the following passages.

"The Malabar Brahmans, like those in other parts of India, form two distinct classes, engaged in different pursuits. Both are held sacred by the other castes. One has the absolute and entire management of every thing relating to religion; occupied by no secular concerns, they spend their days under the sacred groves of their temples, in superstitious ceremonies or listless indolence, or study the sacred volumes, treatises on astrology, medicine, or fabulous legends. They inculcate benevolence to man, and kindness to the animal creation; and are revereneed by the inferior tribes, who swear by their heads, and treat them with filial affection."

The Brahmans who live in large towns, and hold situations under their respective princes as officers of government, collectors of the revenues, and in other political departments, do

not merit this amiable character. They may, on the contrary, be classed with the despots so often mentioned, who unfeelingly exercised the rod of oppression over the lives and property of their fellow-creatures; although, by a strange inconsistency, these very persons are taught to shudder at the death of an insect, and tremble at the idea of inhaling an animalcule.*

There is still another division of the Brahmans who deserve notice. These are the caste called Numbi, who officiate in the temples of Vishnu and Siva; and they are considered so far below the Lokika and Vaidika in dignity, that even the meanest of the Vaidika Brahmans will not intermarry with the family of a Numbi.

The Gurus are hereditary presidents of temples. The Purohitas are the family priests, whose business it is to perform sacrifices in houses, and assist at the private devotions of the Hindoos, as above noticed by Arrian.

Such is the description of the noble caste of Brahmans at the present day, and such was its description two thousand years ago, and, as we may presume, at a much earlier period; since it is otherwise impossible to account for the agreement between the constitution of the Indian and Egyptian hierarchies. It is almost superfluous to observe, that there is scarcely any trait in the outline we have now drawn which does not apply almost as precisely to the one as to the other. The same offices were allotted to the sacerdotal class in Egypt as in India. The subdivisions of the class, and the distribution of duties to the different orders, were the same; and, lastly, their separate offices were transmitted, in both countries, in particular families. The Guru, in India, is succeeded by his son, as was the president of each college in Egypt. The Purohita has the same duties which, in the law of Moses, are allotted to a particular class of Levites. It is probable, for reasons which will presently appear, that the institution of Moses agreed in this circumstance with the customs of Egypt.

We shall now extract from Arrian's works his account of the other Indian classes.

* Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 376.

The Military Class, which Megasthenes termed the fifth tribe of Indians, were, according to that writer, next in number to the agricultural class. "They enjoy the greatest share of liberty, and are the most lively and energetic of the whole nation. Arms are prepared for them, and a supply of horses procured by others; and they are served in all the drudgery of the camp by persons who take care of their horses, clean their arms, load their elephants, and harness and drive their chariots. But the men of this tribe carry on war as long as it is necessary, and, when peace is concluded, spend their lives in peace and affluence."

"The Agricultural Tribe, mentioned by Megasthenes in the second place, is the most numerous of all the Indian castes. They neither possess any military implements, nor have any concern with the affairs of war; but cultivate the soil, and pay tribute to the kings or to the magistrates of independent communities. If any intestine wars break out among the Indians, it is unlawful for any person to interfere with the operations of the husbandman, or to lay waste the land; but the others fight and slay their enemies as they find opportunity, while the rustics, undisturbed, plough the land in their presence, and collect their vintage, and wood, and their harvests. 'Hence,' says Diodorus, 'the soil brings forth abundant crops, never suffering from the ravages of war. The rustics dwell in the country with their wives and children, and entirely abstain from intercourse with cities; and they pay a rent to the kings for their estates, all India being royal property, and no private individual having the right to possess land. The rent is a fourth part of the produce, which is paid into the royal treasury.'"

"Another tribe consists of artisans and petty traders, and of persons who live by bodily labour. Of these some pay tribute and perform stated works, make arms and build ships; for which they receive stipends." "Of this tribe are the ship-builders and the sailors who navigate the rivers.

"The two last-mentioned tribes include the various divisions of the Vaisya and Sudra classes; though not accurately distinguished.

"A seventh tribe is mentioned, consisting of mountaineers; who were wandering herdsmen and hunters.

"Intermarriages between different tribes are forbidden, except between the agriculturists and the artisans." These divisions, we may remark, belong, in the political code of India, to one great class. "Neither is it lawful to pass from one profession to another, nor for the same individual to follow more than one, unless for one of the sacerdotal class, who are permitted to do so on account of their superior mental endowments."

I shall conclude these remarks on the Hindoo castes with the following passage from Menu's Institutes, which discriminates the duties of the four great divisions of the people, and bears as near a relation to the economy of the Egyptians as to the customs of the Hindoos themselves.

"For the sake of preserving this universe, the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.

"To the Brahmans he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, if they be rich; and, if indigent, of receiving gifts.

"To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are, in a few words, the duties of a Cshatriya.

"To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the Scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are prescribed or permitted to a Vaisya.

"One principal duty the Supreme Rahe assigned to a Sudra, namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth."

I shall not enter into any further details respecting the customs of particular castes. Enough has been said to show the relation they bear in the chief points to those of Egypt.

The same abstinences, the same attention to ablutions, and similar ideas respecting the circumstances entailing pollution, or legal defilement, are found in the histories of both nations.

And the Brahmans, like the old Egyptian priests, are forbidden from quitting their native country, and exposing themselves in foreign lands to unavoidable irregularities. Even those individuals of this exalted caste, who have visited the courts of foreign princes as ambassadors from their native sovereign, have been compelled to go through a ceremony, typical of regeneration, before they could be looked upon as absolved from the pollutions contracted in passing through impure regions, and be restored to the privileges of their caste.*

* See Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 379; where there are some curious remarks on this subject.

CHAPTER IV.

COMPARISON OF THE MOSAIC ORDINANCES WITH THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

SECTION I.

Introduction.

It has often been remarked, that various parts of the Mosaic law bear a certain resemblance to some of the ordinances observed by the Egyptian priesthood. This analogy has been accounted for in very opposite ways. Some writers have peremptorily asserted that Moses was a mere imitator of pagan institutions: others have determined, without sufficient support from historical testimony, and with very little probability, that the Egyptians copied the ordinances of the Hebrew lawgiver.

This subject has been amply discussed by well-known authors, and most of the facts which bear any relation to it have been cited and compared. I should therefore willingly avoid entering into it. Some observations, however, have occasionally suggested themselves in the foregoing pages, the tendency of which might be misapprehended, if they were suffered to appear without any further comment. I am induced by this, and partly by some other motives,

to offer the following general remarks on those relations between the Hebrew and Egyptian ordinances, which have so often excited the attention of divines and antiquarians. I shall confine myself, for obvious reasons, to a general survey, and refer for particular illustrations to the authors who have expressly treated on the several divisions of this subject.

I purpose to compare the Mosaic institutions with those of Egypt, under three different relations: first, with respect to theology, or religious doctrine; secondly, with reference to social and political regulations; and thirdly, with respect to rites and ceremonies, and all the external performances of religious and sacerdotal discipline.

SECTION II.

Theological Doctrine of Moses compared with that of the Egyptians.

With respect to theology, no two systems can be more directly opposed to each other than the Mosaic doctrine was to that of the Egyptians. The latter, as we have seen, personified the elements, and the physical powers, whose agency is the most striking in the operations of nature; and their theological fables, when closely examined, amounted to little more than figurative or fanciful descriptions of the phænomena of the material world, or the causes that were supposed to give rise to them. Worship was paid by them in

its turn, to almost every object that revolves in the heavens, and to every creature which is possessed of locomotive powers on the earth. The Mosaic law, as we well know, directed the severest denunciations against every species of idolatry, and ordained the worship of the One Invisible God. It is true that the Egyptians recognised, among their esoteric or philosophical doctrines, the existence of a spiritual and eternal being; but this tenet was carefully concealed from the people, instead of becoming the foundation and most conspicuous part of the popular religion; it was also disfigured, in the representations of the Egyptians, by fanciful conceits, which destroyed its simplicity and sublime effect; and it was combined with superstitious notions which, in a great measure, deprived it of its force as a sanction of morality.

It may, indeed, be objected that the Egyptian religion perhaps acquired most of its corruptions at an era subsequent to that of Moses. It may therefore have presented a very different aspect, in the days of the Hebrew lawgiver, from that which we have collected from the testimony of much later times. But if the Egyptians retained, in any great measure, the simple faith of the patriarchs, at the epoch to which we refer, we have still stronger reasons for believing that it was preserved in a state not less genuine among those pastoral nations, the simple and unvaried tenour of whose existence precludes all great innovations in manners and sentiments.

We must therefore conclude that in promulgating that great and conspicuous tenet which Moses continually displays as the end and principal aim of all

his regulations, he was neither guided by the lessons nor influenced by the examples of his Egyptian instructors.

SECTION III.

Political and Civil Institutions of Moses, compared with those of the Egyptians.

In the political and civil constitution founded by Moses, we find some instances of agreement with the Egyptian polity, and others of remarkable contradistinction.

In the most striking feature in the whole system of civil regulations, the plan adopted by the Hebrew lawgiver stands in direct opposition to the polity of the Egyptians. The founders of the latter had made it their chief endeavour to depress the mass of the community, in order to pamper the luxury and pride of the distinguished orders. Hence the complicated system of subordinate ranks, which consigned the lower castes, with their posterity, to a state of perpetual servility and abject degradation.

The system of society established by Moses was, on the contrary, one of perfect equality,* not the

* In the appointment of the Gibeonites to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," there is something like the formation of a low caste, degraded to perpetual servility. But this was the result of an accidental combination of circumstances, which took place during the conquest of Palestine by Joshua; and no provision for it, or anticipation of it, is to be found in the law. Moses is in no way answerable for it.

casual result of circumstances, but the object which the founder purposely contrived a great part of his civil institutions to uphold. Hence, the regulations for maintaining equal possessions, as far as this was possible, by apportioning to each family a certain extent of land, and precluding by express laws the permanent alienation of estates.

In one remarkable circumstance the constitution founded by Moses resembles the Egyptian: this is the consecration of a particular race or family to the offices of religion, and to some civil duties that were more or less closely associated with them. The Levitical priesthood corresponds in many particulars with the hereditary hierarchy of the Egyptians; yet there is one characteristic trait which distinguishes the designs that severally directed the founders of these orders. In Egypt the priests, besides innumerable privileges and immunities, claimed a real property in one third part of the whole territory: the temporal splendour and opulence of this body was the object chiefly aimed at. The Mosaic priesthood, though equally elevated in dignity and office, was expressly excluded from territorial possessions, and was rendered dependant for support on certain revenues connected with its civil and religious duties.

The various offices, both civil and religious, allotted by Moses to the Levites, were similar to those which belonged to the hierarchy in Egypt.

There is only one striking exception that can be made to this remark. The prophets of the Egyptians were an order in the hereditary priesthood; the prophets of the Hebrews were men raised up from any

tribe, without distinction, and the most illustrious were not descended from Levi.

1. The high-priesthood itself was hereditary in a particular house; so was the pontificate of each particular god in Egypt.

2. The judicial office belonged to the Levites, as it did in Egypt to the priests. The chief magistrates, called Sophtim, or Suffetes, who succeeded Joshua, were chiefly military commanders, and sprang from various tribes; but the details of justice, and the settling of controversies, are expressly set apart, by Moses, as functions belonging to the Levites; and we find that they continued to be vested in the same body.* Thus, in the reign of David, six thousand Levites were employed as judges and scribes.

3. The Shoterim or Scribes were generally of the tribe of Levi.† Their office corresponds exactly with that of the Hierogrammates in Egypt. They were public accountants, managed records, kept registers, and were the depositories of all the literature and science of the Hebrews.‡

4. Medicine, like other parts of knowledge, seems to have belonged to the priests in Palestine, as in Egypt; at least, the diagnosis of leprosy was assigned to them, as well as the regulations of medical police.

The concession that this part of the Mosaic constitution was formed on the model of an Egyptian

* Deuteron. xxi. 5. See Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law, Dr. Smith's translation, vol. i. p. 258, et seqq.

† Michaëlis, ibid.

‡ When David distributed to each Levite his office, he appointed some to superintend weights and measures. 1 Chron. xxiii. 29.

ordinance may be thought derogatory to the sacred character of the Hebrew lawgiver. Yet, when we consider how powerful an instrument the Egyptian hierarchy has proved itself to be, in preserving and maintaining the superstition confided to it; how well adapted such an hereditary priesthood evidently was to the condition of society, in the times to which we are referring; it seems to be a proof of the highest wisdom, and of a truly enlightened policy, to employ the power of such an agent for the defence of true religion.

If there is any part of the public ordinances of Egypt, of which we might expect to find Moses a mere copyist or servile imitator, it is the system of criminal and civil laws, and the regulations that refer to morals and social life. It is in these relations that the laws of the Egyptians have been most applauded. Their theology, as we have seen, contained a variety of extravagant conceits, and preserved in a very imperfect state even the first principles of natural religion; their political constitution degraded the mass of the people into a most servile condition, and sacrificed them to the interests of the privileged orders; their rites and customs were, in many instances, detestable. But the civil regulations, and the moral code of this nation, have been the theme of loud applause among the greatest writers of antiquity, and their fame has often been re-echoed in modern times. It is on this side, then, that we might expect, with the greatest probability, to find an agreement between the laws of Moses and the Egyptians. A legislator who had

* See Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law.

been taught by the priests of Heliopolis may be supposed likely to display in his work the lessons of his instructors, and especially to have copied those parts of their system which the wise men of old times were so prone to admire and celebrate. We look, however, in vain for any mark of consent between the morality of Moses and that of his predecessors.

In the first place, we may observe that there was a wide difference in the spirit of the Hebrew and Egyptian laws, if we regard the sanctions by which their authority was confirmed. The Egyptian priests denounced the miseries of a future life and of penal transmigrations, against those who violated their ordinances. Moses had declared, in the outset, that God had promised to govern Israel as its immediate sovereign, with temporal rewards and punishments. Accordingly, he has made no reference in his laws to the dispensations of the invisible world. The examples which the present life affords are far more impressive than future expectations, especially in a semi-barbarous and unreflecting age, and the doctrine of the soul has often been, in the East, a source of endless superstitions. We know that the Rabbins in later times adopted the psychology of the Egyptians, and with it all the absurd tenets with which it was connected. Moses, in thus appealing to the general experience of the divine justice, has given a strong proof of his sincerity and confidence; at the same time he has displayed true wisdom, in refusing such methods of influencing the minds of men as were most popular in his age, but have proved themselves to be, under the existing circumstances, unavailable, and the sources of gross and pernicious delusions.

In the penal inflictions with which both parties found it necessary to aid the impressions of religion, we observe a wide difference between them. The penal code of the Egyptians, according to Diodorus, consisted for the most part in a variety of mutilations: the member of the body supposed to be chiefly in fault was cut off, as the punishment of most offences.* Severe tortures were had recourse to in other cases, and some horrible and disgusting sufferings were inflicted, as in the instances of child-murder and parricide.† In the penal code of Moses, we find no mention of bodily mutilations, or of tortures, excepting a limited number of stripes: and capital punishments, though numerous, were summary and immediate.

3. In the criminal code of Moses a variety of actions are enumerated as offences, and even ordered

* Persons convicted of treasonable communication with an enemy had their tongues cut out; persons guilty of forgery, or similar offences, had both their hands cut off. "Qui fœminæ liberæ vim obtulerant membri cujusdam amputationem passi sunt." Diodor. Hist. lib. i. cap. 6.

† Infanticide was punished by obliging the parents to hug their dead children in their arms for three successive days and nights. This if true, gives countenance to the idea suggested by Warburton, that infanticide was commonly practised in Egypt, in the time of Moses. The account of the Egyptian midwives in Exodus indicates, as the Bishop observes, that the office they were employed in was not altogether foreign to the rational customs. So strange a punishment as that above mentioned would scarcely have been appointed, if the crime had not been frequently practised and tolerated in the preceding times.

to be punished with death, which in Egypt were encouraged by religious rites and the example of the gods, and adopted in common practice. Sensuality of the most flagitious description, was tolerated and encouraged in Egypt; and it would appear as if no species of debauchery entered into the catalogue of crimes in that country. Offences of this class were, as we well know, strictly forbidden by Moses, under the severest penalties.*

In the regulations that refer to matrimonial connections and the domestic relations of life, men are wont more than in any other matters to follow established customs and prejudices: if, therefore, Moses had been inclined to form the manners of his people on those of the nation among whom he had been educated, he certainly would not have innovated in that respect. It is well known that in all these points his laws are directly opposed to the Egyptian customs.†

The following is the preface to the laws respecting marriages in the Mosaic code. "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwell, shall ye not do." —"Ye shall do my judgments, and observe mine ordinances to walk therein: I am Jehovah, your God."‡

* Moses was obliged so far to condescend to the customs of a barbarous age, as to tolerate polygamy. His regulations tended, however, in a very important manner, as Michaëlis has shown, to discourage it in practice.

† Marriages between persons near of kin were in frequent practice in Egypt, and were sanctioned by the example of the gods.

‡ Leviticus, chap. xviii.

There is another trait which has been remarked as distinguishing the morality of the Mosaic institutions from that of the Egyptians. In the code of these learned pagans, there were many salutary regulations, but the best of them were disgraced by impostures, and those deceptions which are termed pious frauds: priestcraft displays itself on every side. In the law of Moses we discover a strict adherence to good faith: no false pretences are made use of as motives to lead to useful courses of action.

The fondness for secrecy, and for enveloping truths or opinions in a cloak of mystery, is another trait of Egyptian priestcraft. Hence the celebrated distinction of Esoteric and Exoteric philosophy, invented by the Egyptians, and afterwards imitated by many of the Greeks. It was, perhaps, with a view to secrecy that the Egyptians retained the use of hieroglyphic or symbolic characters, after the alphabetic mode of writing had become well known. It answered their purpose: it concealed from vulgar curiosity the wonders of their learning and superstition, as it has perhaps for ever veiled their ignorance from the irreverent scrutiny of posterity.

Moses repudiated every thing that favoured mystery and concealment; and he laid aside the hieroglyphic writing, with which he must have been acquainted, for the alphabetic characters, of which it is easy for the common people to avail themselves.

SECTION IV.

Comparison of the Ceremonial Law of Moses with that of the Egyptians.

It remains for us to compare the institutions of Moses and those of the Egyptians, with reference to the external ceremonies of religion and sacerdotal discipline. It cannot be denied that there were several features of resemblance between the Mosaic and Egyptian rituals, which must have originated in some other source than accidental coincidence. Yet a very superficial survey of the subject will suffice to prove, that the Hebrew legislator was not, in this part of his code, a mere copyist of Egyptian ordinances. But, before we enter on this consideration, it may be proper to pause, and inquire whether it is not certain, from the nature of circumstances, that a system of rites and ceremonies, instituted at any period of the world, must display traces of such modes of thinking and acting as previously prevailed. As all ceremonies derive their power and utility from the ideas and sentiments which they excite in the beholders, and as these ideas and sentiments depend upon the influence of previous habits and prejudices, the promulgator of a ritual law, whether he be guided by divine or by human intelligence, must necessarily raise his superstructure on the foundations that are prepared for him. A wise lawgiver would be led to adopt and

establish, by a new sanction, such practices as were associated, either by a natural allusion or by habit, with feelings of reverence, or which expressed, in a striking and impressive manner, true ideas respecting the relations of man to a higher power, and tended to excite sentiments of piety, humanity, and moral purity, in the minds of the beholders. To reject such unexceptionable instruments, and to attempt to govern the opinions and sentiments of men by a system of machinery which had no hold on the habits and characters of the people whom it was designed to controul and edify, would betray a total ignorance of the constitution of the human mind. The project would be utterly absurd.

These reflections may suffice to show that we must not expect to find in the ceremonial laws of Moses, a system of rites entirely new, and bearing no traces of customs and ordinances previously existing.

In proceeding to this comparison, we may first observe that all those rites and customs of the Egyptians which were an offence against nature or good morals were expressly proscribed by Moses. Among these we may reckon human sacrifices, the abominations of the temple of Mendes, and many other excesses connected with the idolatrous worship of this people.

By some other prohibitions, Moses seems to have aimed at distinguishing his priesthood and the people subjected to their influence from the Egyptians. Such would appear to have been the intent of the law which forbade the cutting off the hair of a priest,* and of that

* Ezechiel, xliv. 20. Spencer de Legg. Hebræor. cap. xxv. sect. 2.

which prohibited the planting of trees near the altar of Jehovah; of the injunction to sacrifice heifers instead of bulls and male calves.* In all these particulars, and in many others, the observances ordained by Moses were in direct contradistinction to the customs of Egypt.

I shall now proceed to enumerate the most remarkable examples of *resemblance* and *agreement* between the Hebrew rites and the customs of the Egyptians and other Pagan nations.

1. In the rites of lustration, or purification by water, there is an instance of such agreement. But this may be thought an accidental coincidence. The ceremony of cleansing the person by ablution affords so natural and obvious a type of inward or mental purification,† that nothing is more probable than that different nations may have adopted it without interchange of ideas.

But although the use of ablutions in the ceremonial

* Numbers xix. 5. Spencer de Legg. lib. ii. cap. 15. sect. 2.

† It is obvious that a ceremony of this description, at first merely typical, must have preceded and given origin to the popular notion, that ablution in consecrated streams or fountains had the power of actually removing guilt, or mental defilement, together with external impurity. Such a notion can only have been the result of a ceremony previously established: it cannot be imagined to have furnished in the first place the motive for instituting the rite, or the design with which it was contrived. The heathen writers had a clear conception of the inefficacy of ablution in the latter sense.

> "Ah nimiùm faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
> Tolli flumineâ posse putatis aquâ."

of religion is not of itself sufficient to prove intercourse between the nations who have practised it, the manner of performing it may determine whether it has been adopted casually, as a natural and obvious emblem, or was derived by one nation from another, by imitation. Spencer has pointed out so many circumstances in the ablutions ordained in the Levitical law, which resemble the rites of several nations who had their religious ceremonies in common with the Egyptians, that we can scarcely refuse our assent to the inference he deduces. His conclusion is, that Moses adopted this rite from the usages of antiquity.

We shall briefly notice some circumstances in the heathen lustrations which bear a strong analogy to the Mosaic ordinances.

Before prayers were addressed to the gods, it was necessary for the supplicant to purify himself by washing his hands.

Μηδὲ ποτ' ἐξ ἠοῦς Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
χερσὶν ἀνίπτοισιν, μηδ' ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν.
* * * * * * *
Μηδὲ ποτ' αἐνάων ποταμῶν καλλίῤῥοον ὕδωρ
ποσσὶ περᾶν, πρὶν γ' εὐξῃ'
εὐξει, ἰδὼν εἰς καλὰ ῥέεθρα
χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολυηράτῳ ὕδατι λευκῷ.*

Purification from legal defilements was performed in many instances by aspersion. The instrument used in the Levitical ceremony was a branch of hyssop; in the Pagan rites, a branch of laurel or palm.

" Spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos
Incipit et solitâ fundere voce preces.†

* Hesiod. Op. et Dies. v. 355. † Ovid. Fastor. lib. v.

"He sprinkles his hair with the branch of laurel, dropping dew, and begins to utter his accustomed orisons."

In other circumstances, connected with the lustral ceremonies, Spencer has pointed out coincidences between the Mosaic and Egyptian laws.*

2. The custom of offering animals in sacrifice has been considered as an example of coincidence in the practices of these two nations. No inference however can be drawn from finding a rite of this description established in two particular countries. The universal prevalence of sacrifices over the ancient world proves that this rite had its origin at an era antecedent to the division of mankind into separate families.

The sacrifices of the Egyptians were expiatory or vicarious offerings. Such were the offerings of the Hebrews. But we cannot conclude from this circumstance that one people derived the practice from the other, because all the eastern nations, among whom we must look for the customs and ideas of remote antiquity, performed this ceremony with similar motives and ideas.†

* Spencer de Legg. Hebræor. Dissert. iii.

† That the sacrifices of most ancient nations were rites of expiation, and not merely contrivances for conciliating the favour of the gods, by bribing them with the savoury smoke of the roasted victim, we learn from the wide extension of the practice of immolating human victims as vicarious sufferers. The same idea is frequently expressed in the Puranas and other ancient books of the Hindoos. From slaying animals as offerings, on which the guilt of the offender was supposed to be transferred, most nations proceeded to

It must be confessed, however, that the manner in which the governing idea was expressed in the Mosaic ordinance resembles in a remarkable degree the Egyptian rite, and it would seem as if Moses adopted this as the most striking and impressive form. The sins of the people were imprecated by the officiating priest on the head of the devoted victim. The circumstances of this ceremony, as it was performed according to the Egyptian ritual, have been alluded in a foregoing chapter.

There is also a coincidence in the kinds of animals selected for sacrifice. Moses forbade, indeed, to offer human victims; and of the species of brute animals used by the Egyptians for this purpose, he selected only three, viz. oxen, sheep, and goats. Of the ox kind, the Hebrews were ordered to slaughter the females; whereas the Egyptians chose only the males. But the particular colour of the victim, as set down in the Levitical ordinances, was exactly the same as that which the Egyptian ritual specified. This has been described in the section to which we have just referred.

Spencer has remarked that Moses ordered such animals only to be offered in sacrifice as had never been subjected to the yoke, and that the same regulation existed among the Greeks and other Heathen nations.*

immolate human victims on certain great occasions, as more noble sufferers.

It is impossible to ascertain when this custom originated. The Vedas contain a strange fiction, which connects the allegorical immolation of Narayan with the formation of the world.

Those writers who have maintained this opinion have

It would appear then, that Moses consecrated such animals for sacrifice as were generally held to be pure and unblemished offerings. His motive in this proceeding is evident: an opposite mode of conduct would have evinced a want of that attention to prevailing notions which is necessary for every legislator.

3. In the circumstances by which legal pollution was contracted, there was a coincidence between the ideas of the Egyptians and those which Moses adopted as the foundation of many of his ceremonies and prohibitions. Many of the Egyptian customs of this description have been enumerated in the foregoing chapter.

In the oblations, ordained by Moses, of corn, wine, and oil, in the consecration of tenths and of first-fruits, in the celebration of festivals at the new moons, in the vestments of the priests, and the peculiar observances required of their order, there are many

been unjustly accused of denying the typical references of the Mosaic rites to the great events of the Christian dispensation. Yet both Spencer and Michaëlis have positively disclaimed any such intention. The latter says, "That I consider the sacrifices prescribed by Moses as typical of Christ, and that I believe them not only justly applied to him by the Apostles in the New Testament, but to have been actually appointed by God with that express design, and previously explained in the book of Psalms in that as their genuine meaning, cannot be unknown to any reader of my Dogmatics, or of my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or of my Critical Lecture on the 40th Psalm." Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law, translated by Dr. Smith, vol. iii. p. 57. Dr. Spencer makes a similar assertion in several parts of his work, "De Legg. Hebræorum."

points which bear a relation either of near resemblance or of direct contradiction to the laws of the Egyptians and other celebrated nations.

When indeed, we take all these circumstances into consideration, it no longer remains doubtful that Moses, in compiling the ceremonial ordinances of his code, had in his view the rites and customs of antiquity. His people were thoroughly imbued with the prejudices and devoted to the practices of the Egyptians. He has retained those ceremonies which were in themselves perfectly harmless, and which tended to inspire pure and pious thoughts. He has copied some Egyptian rites, such for example as were founded on natural associations of ideas, and expressed in a more striking manner than any other, certain religious truths which, from their universal hold upon the minds of men, are shown either to be the results of a general conviction, or the lessons of the first fathers of the human race handed down by immemorial tradition. He has repudiated whatever was impious or impure, or in itself absurd and ridiculous, of which we have seen that there was a great abundance in the practices of the wise Egyptians. He has ordained many rites, evidently with no other purpose than to prevent his people from reverting into these abominations. On the whole he has evinced, though born in a semi-barbarous age, and educated among a people who commended themselves to God by burning red-haired men, and joining women to he-goats, and feeding crocodiles with their living children, so unblemished a conception of moral excellence, so profound a knowledge of the laws of the human mind, so clear a discrimination of the essentials of religion,

that, in surveying the ordinances of the Hebrew law, an attentive and candid inquirer cannot fail to recognise unquestionable proofs of wisdom and intelligenec, which exceed the possible attainments of the human faculties.

SECTION V.

Origin of Circumcision.

There is no other point connected with this inquiry which has occasioned so much dispute as the origin of Circumcision. This, however, is a question quite distinct from the consideration of those rites and ordinances which the Hebrews first received from Moses, or became acquainted with subsequently to their descent into Egypt and establishment in Goshen. We are certain that the descendants of Abraham practised circumcision before that event. They even considered it a disgrace to be connected with an uncircumcised race, as we learn from the conduct of Judah and his brethren, in the massacre of the Sichemites. We know also that this custom prevailed not only among the Israelites, who came out of Egypt with Moses, but among the Edomites* and Ishmaelitish Arabs.† All these nations obtained it from their common ancestor.

But other nations, besides the Abrahamidæ, practised circumcision, who cannot, with so much probability, be supposed to have derived it from

* Genesis, xxv. 25—30. † Ibid. xvi. 25.

the patriarch of that stem. The Egyptians, as we have seen, made it a necessary condition, in order to admit any person to certain religious solemnities, or at least to the office of the priesthood. Some other ancient nations, connected by affinity with the Egyptians, had the same custom; as the Colchians, who are supposed by Herodotus to be a colony from Egypt, and in Africa, the Ethiopians,* particularly the Troglodytes.† It extended further towards the south, and seems to have been propagated from Egypt among the Negro races in the interior; for we learn from recent voyagers that it still prevails in Congo and Guinea.‡

We are ignorant at what period circumcision was adopted by the Egyptians. It appears to have been an established rite among them in the time of Moses.§

It has been maintained by some, that Abraham, or his descendants, introduced this rite among the Egyptians; but this is an extremely improbable conjecture. It must be observed that the first mention of circumcision in Genesis occurs subsequently to the journey of Abraham and his horde into Egypt. There seems also at this period to have been a free and unrestrained intercourse between the Egyptians and their less civilized or less artificial neighbours, so that the influence of Egyptian customs and modes of thinking may be supposed to have extended over the surrounding nations.

* Diod. lib. i. ‡ Ibid. lib. iii. p. 165.

‡ Authorities in Woodward, p. 290.

§ This appears from Josh. v. where the renewal of circumcision is ordained; and it is observed, that the reproach of Egypt is now removed from Israel.

A remark of Michaëlis throws some light upon this obscure subject. This writer has observed that the manner in which the ordinance of circumcision is mentioned in Genesis, and the terms in which the command is announced to Abraham, are such as to afford ground for believing that the practice had previously prevailed, and was familiar to the ideas of that Patriarch.*

What forbids us, then, from adopting the conclusion, obviously the most probable one, that circumcision originated, at a very remote era, in some eastern country, possibly in Egypt; and that it was thence communicated to the neighbouring nations; that it was connected with some idea of purity and fitness for religious service, as we have seen that shaving the body and frequent ablutions were, and had become the generally received ceremony for dedicating men to the service of God; and, lastly, that it was enjoined by a divine command to Abraham, to adopt this rite in his own house?

But this was a divine, not a human ordinance. Abraham received the command to circumcise his house immediately from God. How is this to be reconciled with the hypothesis above proposed?

This difficulty will be removed by comparing the origin of circumcision with that of baptism. Baptism is to be considered as a divine institution, not less assuredly than circumcision, since it is certainly

* See Michaëlis on the Mosaic Law, Dr. Smith's translation, vol. iii. book iv. chap. 3, an excellent disquisition on this subject. See also Spencer de Legg. Hebræorum. These two authors have collected all that is known on the subject of circumcision.

known to have been ordained by the divine founder of the Christian church. Yet it is as well known that baptism or lustration by water had been practised many ages before the Chrtstian era; and that immersions, and ablutions and aspersions had been used from times immemorial in Pagan temples; that these rites were regarded as necessary preparations for those who were to be admitted to certain religious privileges. If such ideas had not pre-existed in the opinions of men, the ordinance of baptism by John the Baptist, and by our Lord, would have been devoid of all meaning and effect on those who witnessed or underwent the performance of it. The fact is, as we well know, that lustration by water was already connected with the idea of inward purification. Hence it was a fit instrument for producing a moral effect.

The case is similar with respect to circumcision, on the hypothesis that it was a prevailing custom previously to the time of Abraham. It was regarded with feelings of solemnity, and as the type of a religious engagement. No new rite could then be so proper or so efficacious as the seal of a solemn covenant.

A

CRITICAL EXAMINATION

OF THE

REMAINS

OF

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

PART I.

SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION. COMPILATION OF MATERIALS.

SECTION I.

Origin of History. Probable Antiquity of the Oldest Records.

THE primitive history of the human race, the origin of nations, their distribution over the globe, and their adventures during many ages of the world, occupy a wide field in the most remote region of antiquity, the greatest part of which is enveloped in an impenetrable mist. The age of Moses is the first great epoch of history, as recorded by contemporary annalists, and handed down to us in a succession of documents attested by creditable names. At this point we take our stand, as on a high watch-tower, the last of a long chain of posts, and direct our view over the obscure region beyond, where we discern in the distance many remarkable spots, some brighter than others, to which we can scarcely hope to gain a more immediate access.

Let us now inquire from what source flow those gleams of light which are dispersed over this distant field; or, in other words, to what authority are we in

the first instance to refer those notices of preceding events which have come down to us from ancient times? Is it probable that any written memoirs of the previous history of the world existed in the time of Moses, or are we to suppose that nothing survived, from the ages which had already elapsed, except uncertain traditions too vague and obscure to form the ground-work of authentic records? This is an inquiry which cannot be brought to a satisfactory issue without a careful investigation; and we shall find that it is one on the solution of which the credit of a great part of ancient history depends.

Perhaps there is no other method of research so capable of leading us to a solution of this important problem as an examination of the historical parts of the Pentateuch. If any records of the previous history of the human race were extant at the period when the book of Genesis was written, it seems extremely probable that some proofs of their existence might be traced, by means of an accurate examination of this work, and the composition of its different parts.

The genealogical tables and family records of various tribes, which are found embodied in the books of Moses, bear the appearance of documents copied from written archives. They display no trait that might lead us to ascribe their production to the dictates of immediate revelation, nor are we any where informed that such was in reality their origin. We are aware that similar documents were constructed by the inspired writers of the Gospels, from national archives or family memorials. The obvious presumption is, that the author of the Pentateuch obtained

these records of a like description from a similar source, unless it can be shown that no such means of information were in existence in his time. This cannot be proved: on the contrary, we have many reasons to believe that the use of letters, and the practice of preserving chronicles and genealogies, was much more ancient than this epoch.

If this supposition is allowed, it becomes easy to account for a phænomenon which can scarcely be explained in any other way. I allude to the remarkable connection discovered between many fragments of profane history, scattered over various parts of the world, and several relations contained in Genesis. Many of these historical fragments are of such a description, or have been found among nations so remote from Judæa, that they cannot be imagined to have derived their origin from the writings of the inspired lawgiver. Their coincidence with the narrative which he has transmitted seems to prove that memorials of the same events, but composed in different styles of representation, had been preserved by several nations. I shall only mention, as an example, the remains of Berosus, whose Chaldean history of the ten antediluvian generations differs but little from the Hebrew record, and who expressly affirms that Xisuthrus, after the intimation given him of the flood that was approaching, diligently compiled memoirs of the previous history of the world, from which all existing accounts are said to have been derived.

But a more satisfactory result appears to me to have been obtained from internal evidence. For it has been proved, if I am not greatly mistaken, by a critical examination of the book of Genesis, that

this work contains several original records, each bearing on itself the strongest marks of authenticity and of high antiquity, which have been brought together by Moses, arranged and copied with the most scrupulous fidelity, so as to present a series of authentic archives, in which the chain of history is traced up to the very cradle of the human race.* It is scarcely necessary to point out the inference which results from this conclusion, in favour of the antiquity of other historical remains.

SECTION II.

Antiquity of the Egyptian Records. Historical Books. Inscriptions. Syringes.

The most ancient compilers of profane history, whose works have survived to our times, were later than Moses by more than a thousand years. Hence it is evident that no Pagan nation can enter into competition with the Hebrews respecting the authenticity of their ancient records.

In this comparison the Egyptians stand next, though at a very great distance from the Hebrews. For the first compilers of Egyptian antiquities, who had access to the sources of learning, and who are known to us, lived subsequently to the foundation of the Alexandrian library. Yet there is some reason to presume that the documents from which they

* See Note A.

compiled their works had been preserved from very remote periods.

As the history of the Egyptians was intimately connected with that of the Hebrews in early times, it becomes the more interesting to investigate their ancient records. We have thus an opportunity of comparing the memorials of two nations, whose historians conduct us further than those of almost any other people into the regions of antiquity.

We shall now proceed to examine the remains of Egyptian chronology, and to estimate, in the first place, the external evidence of their authenticity. We shall then compare these documents among themselves, and deduce the conclusions that result.

It is impossible to ascertain from what time the Egyptians began to preserve historical records, but it is extremely probable that some memorials of the most remarkable events, and some sorts of chronicles or documents serving to mark the progress of time, began to be formed as soon as the use of letters was known. The early invention of astronomy, and the custom of connecting the lapse of secular periods with the dates of civil history, afford a better support then mere conjectural probability to this opinion. But we are unable to determine in what age the use of letters was invented.

In the time of Moses it appears that two kinds of letters were known to the Hebrews, one of which was alphabetic; the other seems to have been a sort of symbolical character, and perhaps resembled the Egyptian hieroglyphics.* But the Hebrews were not

* The inscription on the Ephod is said to have been written

the only people who appear to have been about the same period in possession of this art. It was diffused through the neighbouring countries. It was probably known to the Phœnicians or Canaanites at the time when that nation was conquered by the Israelites, on their return from Egypt. This is at least a probable conjecture, from the name of a town in Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua. The city we allude to is called Kirjath Sepher, which means "the City of the Book:" it is rendered, by the Seventy Interpreters, the "City of Letters."

Egypt was in these ages the great centre of arts and industry: it seems to have enjoyed, at an earlier period than other countries, the blessings of regular government. It possessed those vegetable productions from which the oldest materials for writing were formed; and the art of preparing these materials, the manufacture of cotton and papyrus, was known in Egypt in very early times. The people of this country were famous for the invention of the hieroglyphics, which seems to have been the intermediate step between the rude picture-writing of barbarous ages and a more perfect method of representing ideas in permanent forms. All these circumstances considered, it can scarcely be doubted that the Egyptians were one of the nations who first possessed written memorials.

We know, indeed, that their learning was proverbial in the time of Moses. Several generations

in characters resembling the "*letters of a signet.*" It would appear that these were a sort of symbolical characters: they are plainly distinguished from the alphabetic letters used by Moses, in writing the Pentateuch.

before this legislator, in the age of Joseph, the Egyptian hierarchy already existed, and it seems at this time to have been divided into those departments, or various colleges, which we have traced in the foregoing pages. We find the priests, the magicians, the wise-men, and the physicians, enumerated in the history of this patriarch. It is probable that the several branches of learning, of which these orders were the depositories, had already an existence.*

Further than this period, we can only trace the history of Egyptian learning in the more dubious testimonies of native authors. The priests of this nation were unanimous in referring the origin of letters and of books to Thoth, or Thoyth, the god of learning, or perhaps a priest who assumed the name of his tutelar divinity. It would be very difficult to determine the age of Thoth; but, according to the historians of Egypt, he must have flourished as early as the reign of the second king of Thebes, the son and successor of Menes. Athothes was the patron of literature. Eratosthenes interprets his name, Hermogenes, the son of Hermes. It is more correctly rendered "Mercurialis," related or devoted to the god of learning.† According to Manethon, books were composed by his order. We learn from other authorities, that the Memphite Æsculapius was the companion and secretary of Taautos, or the thrice-great Thoth.

* Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses.

† The Egyptian name, which is represented in a Greek form by Athothes, is evidently *Hathoth*. The meaning is more accurately expressed above than by the gloss given by Eratosthenes, which has a more limited sense.

The records that were preserved in the inscriptions on the pillars of the first Thoth, and on the walls of the Syringes or subterranean recesses in the Egyptian temples, were perhaps more ancient than the oldest books. These, as we are informed by several writers,* contained notices of the early history of

* Ammianus Marcellinus thus describes the Syringes, or winding caverns in the recesses of the Egyptian temples. "Sunt et Syringes subterranei quidam et flexuosi secessus, quos, ut fertur, periti rituum vetustorum adventare diluvium prescii, metuentesque ne caerimoniarum obliteraretur memoria, penitus operosis digestos fodinis per loca diversa struxerunt; et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt et animalium species innumeras, quas hierographicas literas appellarunt." Am. Marcell. lib. xxii. cap. 15.

Lucan refers to these inscriptions.

..... Saxis tantum volucresque feræque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Marcianus Capella mentions them as containing genealogies of the gods. "Erantque quidam libri sacra nigredine colorati, quorum literæ animantium credebantur effigies: quas librorum notas Athanasia conspiciens, quibusdam eminentibus saxis jussit adscribi: eademque saxa stelas appellans, Deorum stemmata præcepit continere." Marc. Capell. lib. ii.

A similar description of these sculptured vaults is given by the prophet Ezechiel, chap. viii.

These inscriptions are mentioned by Manethon, the Egyptian historian, who professed to have partly derived the materials of his works from them. Their contents seem to have been similar to those of the Hermetic books; at least so it would appear from Manethon's statement, as we have it extracted by Syncellus. They were inscribed on columns in the Seriadic land, which was doubtless some part of Egypt,

Egypt, the succession of the thirty dynasties ; and here, as long as the sense of the hieroglyphics was known, the students of Egyptian learning found documents which were destined long to survive the nation whose history they recorded.

The sculptured vaults of ancient Egypt have been explored, but no disciple of Thoth survives to explain the innumerable riddles they present. The Hermetic books have long ago ceased to exist, and if we should happen to discover the whole thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-four, which Iamblichus enumerates, they would probably be as unintelligible to us as the historical inscriptions in the syringes. We have only now to mention the channels through which we flatter ourselves that a few memorandums, copied from these ancient archives, have been transmitted to our times.

though we know not what particular district is distinguished by that name. Manethon attributes them to the elder Thoth ; and he says that they were subsequently translated from the sacred language and hierographic character by Agathodæmon, the son of the second Hermes, and deposited in the recesses of the Egyptian temples.

SECTION III.

Authors from whom we have obtained Information respecting the Egyptian History.—Manethon. Unknown Author of the Old Chronicle. Eratosthenes. Syncellus. Ptolemy of Mendes. Apion. Chæremon. Herodotus. Diodorus, and others.

One of the most important writers on the history and chronology of the Egyptians is Manethon, a man of distinguished learning, a native of the Sebennytic nome, who held the office of high-priest and sacred scribe in the temple of Heliopolis during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He was the author of several works on history, physics, and astrology. The most valuable of these was his Egyptian History, contained in three books; which gave an account of the succession of Egyptian kings from the beginning of the monarchy under Menes, the first ruler, down to the establishment of the Macedonian empire. The history of this period was comprised by Manethon in thirty-one dynasties, the first thirty of which were supposed to contain one hundred and thirteen generations; and the total numbers of their reigns were, as Syncellus informs us, three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years. The thirty-one dynasties were preceded by a dynasty of gods and demi-gods.

Manethon's Egyptian History has long ago been the

spoil of time, and we have nothing more of it than a fragment preserved by Josephus, in his Letter to Apion, which seems to have been copied verbatim from the original; and an abstract containing the succession of the kings, and a few historical facts, in the Chronography of Syncellus. The fragment given by Josephus comprises but a small portion of the succession, but is very valuable. The abstract of Syncellus is in a less perfect state. The original work of Manethon seems to have been lost before the age of the last-mentioned chronologer; and all that he could obtain of it were extracts which had been embodied by former collectors, viz. Julius Africanus and Eusebius, in their compilations. These writers differed so much in several parts of their extracts, that it was evident either that great errors had crept into the copies of Manethon's work, or that one of them must have corrupted it by design.

This work of Manethon was undertaken, as it appears, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The sources whence the author professed to have derived his information, were the sacred inscriptions on the columns of Hermes, and in the Seriadic country, and the books attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.

With the materials obtained from these sources it appears that some statements were interwoven, which the compiler admitted to be of equivocal and uncertain authority.*

We have from Syncellus another Egyptian chronicle which, as we are informed by that compiler, and as it appears from internal evidence, is more ancient

* Josephus, Epist. ad Apion.

than the age of Manethon. This old Egyptian chronicle, as Syncellus terms it, terminates with the reign of Nectanebo, that is, with the second year of the one hundred and seventh Olympiad; and that period is the most probable date that can be assigned for its composition. Syncellus conjectures that Manethon was led into error by it; but it differs, in many important particulars, from the chronology of that writer. We shall insert the whole of it in a following page, and shall therefore say no more at present, than that there is no reason for suspecting this document, as some have done, to be the production of a later period than the date to which it is referred by its construction. It is composed on the plan of the computations known to be contained in the ancient Hermetic books. If it had been written subsequently to Manethon's time, we shonld scarcely have found so many contradictions between these two chronicles; and the claims to antiquity in the more recent work would scarcely have exceeded by so many myriads of years those of the high priest of Heliopolis. If it had been a forgery of a late age, that is, of Christian times, it would not have contradicted the dates of the Hebrew Scriptures, by assuming so vast a period for the duration of the Egyptian monarchy.

There is no writer on the Egyptian history who has higher pretensions to our regard than Eratosthenes. No Greek author has surpassed him in learning, or has enjoyed greater opportunities of information, and very few have maintained an equal reputation for integrity. Eratosthenes was a native of Cyrene. He was born in the one hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, two hundred and seventy-six years before Christ,

and, in the fiftieth year of his age, was appointed superintendant of the Alexandrian library. He lived to complete his eightieth year; and, at length, finding his sight to fail, is said to have starved himself to death. He was the author of that work on geography which is frequently referred to by Strabo. He was likewise a celebrated astronomer and mathematician.*

Eratosthenes was equally distinguished as a chronologer. By order of Ptolemy he formed a catalogue of the succession of Egyptian kings, for which he collected materials from records in the Egyptian language, and from information communicated by the sacred scribes of Diospolis.† To this he added interpretations in Greek of the Egyptian names. The work itself has long ago perished, with the exception of a fragment, extracted by the diligent compiler Syncellus, from the chronology of Apollodorus. The original works of Eratosthenes seem to have been no longer extant in the time of Syncellus.

To Syncellus himself we are under the most important obligations, for having preserved most of the fragments above mentioned.

The learned compiler, who is known under this appellation, was a Constantinopolitan monk, named George, who, in the time of Constantine Porphyrogennetes, was Syncellus to the partriarch Tarasius, that is, next to him in dignity, and destined to be his successor.‡ He is said to have compiled his work twenty-one years before the death of Charlemain, emperor of the West.

* Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. iv. p. 123 et seq.

† Syncelli Chronograph. p. 91 et p. 147.

‡ Voss. de Histor. Græc. Fabric. Bibloth. Græc.

It appears that Syncellus chiefly obtained the materials for chronology which he has left us from the previous compilations of Africanus and Eusebius. These works have long ago perished, with the exception of fragments of the former, extracted by other writers, such as Syncellus, and a very imperfect and scanty Latin translation of the latter, executed by Jerome, which Joseph Scaliger has published with the addition of all the remains of the original which he could collect from later compilations. The collection thus formed issued from the press under the title of Eusebius's Chronicle, and has been quoted as such by many modern authors.

Besides the tables of the Old Chronicle, the dynasties of Manethon, and the laterculus of Eratosthenes, Syncellus has given us a continued series of Egyptian kings, from Menes down to the Persian conquest, which seems to have been deduced by himself from various documents. We trace a great portion of it in the lists of Manethon; but the former part, containing a succession of kings from Menes to Tethmosis, who expelled the Shepherd dynasty from Egypt, has either been formed purely from conjecture, and is therefore an absolute forgery, or was deduced from materials which we can no longer trace. As we have no reason for suspecting a writer so industrious and learned as Syncellus of a fraud of this nature, it seems most probable that he collected the earlier part of his series from the works of some old historians, which are now lost. We have reason to believe that means of information existed in his age which have since been destroyed by the ruinous hand of time; for we know that several authors of reputation had

written works on the Egyptian annals and antiquities. Of these Syncellus may be supposed to have availed himself, either directly, or indirectly through the collections of previous compilers.

One of the old writers, of whose works we have to regret the loss, is Ptolemy, a priest of Mendes, whose age is uncertain. It appears that he lived before the time of Tiberius, and the reign of the Ptolemies seems to be the most probable period that can be assigned to him.*

Ptolemy wrote, as it seems, a work in three books, on the history of the kings of Egypt, which is quoted by Apion.† It is uncertain whether this is the same book that is cited by Tatian under the title of Χρονοι, or Chronicles. The author is mentioned also by Tertullian and Cyril, and it is unknown at what period his works were lost.

Apion, the grammarian, lived in the time of Tiberius, and acquired so much fame, that he was called by that emperor "Cymbalum mundi."‡ His learning is commended by Africanus and by Tatian. His principal work was an Egyptian History, which is mentioned with respect by Aulus Gellius: the fourth book of it has been cited by Clement of Alexandria.§ He was also the author of a work against the Jews,

* See Vossius de Hist. Græc.

† Apud Clement. Strom. lib. i. Euseb. Evang. Præp. lib. x. cap. 12.

‡ Voss. ubi suprà.

§ Clemens, Strom. i. Euseb. Præp. Evang. iii. cap. 3. Aulus Gellius lib. v. cap. 14. et vii. cap. 8. He is also mentioned by Pliny, lib. xxxvii. c. 5; and by Justin. Orat. ad Gentes.

to which Josephus replied, in his well-known Epistle to Apion.

Athough Apion boasted that he conferred immortality on those who were mentioned in his books, his works are now entirely lost, with the exception of some passages cited by later authors. We do not know at what period they ceased to exist; and it is possible that Syncellus may have had access to them, or to other writers who had copied from them.

Chæremon also wrote a work on Egyptian history, of which we have a fragment cited by Josephus. This is probably the same writer to whom Porphyry appeals as an author of great credit on the philosophy of the ancient Egyptians.* Porphyry calls him an eminent philosopher among the Stoics, a man studious of truth and accuracy; and St. Jerome refers to his account of the Egyptian priests with an encomium upon his eloquence.† We have already cited a passage of Chæremon preserved by Porphyry in the letter written by him under the name of Annebon, to which Iamblichus replied in his work on the Mysteries.‡ Chæremon was the instructor of Dionysius, who presided over the Alexandrian library, from the time of Nero to that of Trajan.§

It is uncertain whether the author above mentioned is the same Chæremon of whom Strabo speaks in the seventeenth book of his Geography. The latter professed to be a hierogammateus, or sacred

* Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. cap. 6 et 8.

† Hieron. adv. Jovin. ii. 13.

‡ Iamblich. de Myst. Ægypt.

§ Vossius de Histor. Græc. Fabric. Bibl. Græc.

scribe; and pretended to be acquainted with the hieroglyphics and mystical philosophy of the Egyptians. He sailed with Ælius Gallus, in his voyage up the Nile; and was much derided, as Strabo says, on account of his conceit and vain pretensions to learning.

Chæremon's works are no longer extant; but they existed in the time of Africanus, Eusebius, and other chronologers, whose compilations were extant in the time of Syncellus. Chæremon is indeed cited by Tzetzes, at a much later period than the age of Syncellus.

The only authors who remain to be mentioned are Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

The former has been suspected of plagiarism, and has been accused of having copied a great part of his Egyptian history from the works of his predecessor, Hecatæus. Herodotus himself informs us, that he obtained his information from some Egyptian priests, and we have no reason to doubt his assertion.

During the latter period, from the reign of Psammitichus, when the Greeks had become acquainted with the manners and history of the Egyptians, Herodotus has given us an exact account of the succession of kings. In this part of his narrative we may fully rely upon his correctness. The former part contains many puerile absurdities. The guides, who had led him through the temples, showed rows of wooden statues, placed one after another, and representing kings or priests for three hundred and forty-one generations; and he informs us that a priest read to him out of a book the names of three hundred and thirty kings who had reigned successively. It is very possible that

Herodotus might misunderstand his guide, especially as it cannot be supposed that the Grecian traveller understood the Egyptian langauge. At any rate, a nameless person, intent on magnifying the wonders of his native temples, and making a display of their antiquity to an admiring stranger, can scarcely be regarded as an authority worthy of implicit confidence.

Diodorus seems to have taken Herodotus as his guide in his annals of the Egyptian monarchy. He only deviates occasionally, to introduce particulars derived from other sources.

Some incidental notices respecting the Egyptian history are to be found in scattered fragments from the works of Artapanus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Polemo. The two former wrote on the antiquities of the Jews, and the latter on the ancient chronology of the Greeks.*

We shall now proceed to investigate the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, availing ourselves in the best manner we can of the resource above mentioned. The following is the passages of Syncellus, to which we find the Old Egyptian Chronicle.

* Fragments of these writers are scattered through the Stromata of Clemens, the Evangelical Præparation of Eusebius, and the Chronography of Syncellus.

SECTION IV.

Copy of the Old Chronicle and the Chronicle of Manethon.

"There is among the Egyptians a certain ancient Chronicle, by which I apprehend that Manethon was led into error. It embraces the prodigious period of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years, which are comprised in the history of thirty dynasties, and one hundred and thirteen generations. It begins with the Auritæ, who are succeeded by the Mestræi; these are followed by the native Egyptians. It is as follows:—

	Years.
Vulcan	
No time is assigned to Vulcan, because he shines both by day and by night.	
The Sun, the offspring of Vulcan, reigned	30,000
Afterwards Saturn, and the rest of the twelve gods, reigned	3,984
Afterwards the eight demi-gods	217
Fifteen generations of the Cynic circle reigned.....	443
The 16th dynasty of Tanites, consisting of eight generations, reigned	190
17th of Memphites .... 4 generations	103
18th of Memphites .... 14 ———	348
19th of Diospolites .... 5 ———	194
20th of Diospolites .... 8 ———	228

			Years.
The 21st of Tanites	 6	generations	121
22d of Tanites	 3	———	48
23d of Diospolites	 2	———	19
24th of Saites	 3	———	44
25th of Æthiopians	 3	———	44
26th of Memphites	 7	———	177
27th of Persians	 5	———	124
.....			
29th.....		———	39
30th of Tanites	 1	———	18

"The sum of the reigns of the 30 dynasties is 36525 years, which, divided by 25, gives the period of the fabulous apocatastasis or renovation of the zodiac, so celebrated among the Egyptians and Greeks. At this epoch the signs of the zodiac are supposed to return to the exact places which they occupied in the heavens, when the Sun was in the first degree of Aries, as it is explained in the Genica of Hermes, and the Cyrannic books."*

* The two periods to which Syncellus alludes were celebrated cycles in the Egyptian system of computing time.

The cycle of twenty-five years was used for adjusting the lunar and solar motions, and was accommodated to the Egyptian civil year of three hundred and sixty-five days. Twenty-five Egyptian years, contained nine thousand one hundred and twenty-five days, which exceed the total number contained in three hundred and nine lunations, by only one hour nine minutes and ten seconds.

The other cycle was the celebrated Sothiacal period of one thousand four hundred and sixty solar years, which are equal to one thousand four hundred and sixty-one Egyptian years. For as the Egyptian year of three hundred and sixty-five days was deficient by a quarter of a day, a day was lost in every four years. This deficiency would, in $4 \times 365 = 1460$ years,

The twenty-eighth dynasty, consisting of one Saite, may be is inserted in the Old Chronicle from Manethon, being evidently an accidental omission. Still 178 years are wanting in order to fill up the sum total. We shall have occasion to consider from what part of the series it is probable that this number has been dropped.

We now proceed to Manethon, and begin with his dynasty of gods and demi-gods. The following is the passage of Syncellus in which it is contained.

" Manethon, the Sebennyte, a high-priest* of the profane religion in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, writing to the king concerning the first sixteen Egyptian dynasties, beginning with the seven gods, reckons 1985 years for the period of their reign, the first of whom, Vulcan, reigned 9000 years. These 9000 years," continues Syncellus, " have been reckoned by some of our historians as so many lunar months; and the whole number of days contained in 9000 lunar revolutions, being reduced into solar years of 365 days, a period of 724 years and a half with four days has been brought out as the reign of Vulcan." This hypothesis is treated by Syncellus with the contempt it

amount to an entire year, and therefore the beginning of the civil year would, in that space of time, be restored to its original place; the first day of the month Thoth having shifted its place backwards through all the seasons. See Mayer's Chronological Tables, and Hales's Chronology, vol. i. p. 141.

By multiplying these two cycles into each other, the Egyptians fancied, as it appears, that they produced the period called the great year, at the end of which all the planets returned to the same place in the zodiac.

* Syncellus, Chron. p. 18.

merits. However he has set down the following table of gods and demi-gods, with their reigns, computed on this system. It is as follows:—

First Dynasty.

1.	Vulcan reigned $724\frac{1}{2}$ years and 4 days	
2.	The Sun, the son of Vulcan	86 years
3.	Agathodæmon	$52\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 days
4.	Saturn	$40\frac{1}{2}$
5.	Osiris and Iris	35
6.	* * *	
7.	Typhon	29
	Total.	247

8.	Horus, the demi-god	25
9.	Mars, the demi-god	23
10.	Anubis the demi-god	17
11.	Hercules, the demi-god	15
12.	Apollo, the demi-god	25
13.	Ammon, the demi-god	30
14.	Tithoës, the demi-god	27
15.	Sosus, the demi-god	32
16.	Jupiter, the demi-god	20
	Total.	214

There is evidently some mistake in the numbers inserted in this table. The sum total bears no relation to the total period before mentioned by Syncellus, viz. 1985. It would seem that the reigns in the table are all reduced from some larger numbers, by the same method which produces $724\frac{1}{2}$ and four

days out of 9000. Now, if we reverse this computation, which is founded on an idle conjecture, and restore the original numbers, we shall have the sums total as follows:

Vulcan	9000
The six succeeding gods	2658⅓
The nine demi-gods	3068⅓
Total	14726⅔

This sum approaches nearly to the large numbers mentioned by Herodotus, and Diodorus, who, however, contradict each other and themselves, as often as they allude to the fabulous chronology of the gods.

We now insert the catalogue of the thirty-one dynasties of mortal kings.

This being an important series in chronology, Syncellus says that he has copied two of the most celebrated editions of Manethon's succession of dynasties, as he found them respectively in the works of Africanus and Eusebius. These tables are as follows.

THE THIRTY DYNASTIES ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS.

	Years.
After the Demigods began the first series of Kings, of whom the first, viz. Menes Theeinites, reigned	62
2. Athothis, son of Menes	57
3. Kenkenes, his son	31
4. Ouenephes, his son	21
5. Ousaphaidos	20
6. Miebidos	26
7. Semempsis	18
8. Bienaches	26
Sum,	253

THE THIRTY DYNASTIES ACCORDING TO EUSEBIUS.

	Years.
Menes Thenites, from whom the series begins, is the Menes of Herodotus. He reigned	60
2. Athosthis, son of Menes	27
3. Kenkenes	39
4. Ouenephes	42
5. Ousaphaes	20
6. Niebes	26
7. Semempsis	18
8. Oubienthes	26
Sum,	252

Historical Notices contained in the Chronicle.

Menes is said to have been a great general: he made warlike expeditions into foreign countries. He was killed by a hippopotamus.

Athothis founded the palace of the kings at Memphis. He practised physic, and compiled books of anatomy.

In the reign of Ouenephes there was a great famine in Egypt. The pyramids of Cochome were founded at this time.

In the reign of Semempsis many prodigies happened in Egypt, and a great plague infested the country.

II. *Dynasty, of Nine Kings.*

	Years.
1. Bochus	
2. Choos	
3. Biophis	
4. * * *	
5. * * *	
6. * * *	
7. * * *	
8. Sesochris	48
9. Cheneres	30
Sum of this Dynasty,	302

II. *Dynasty, of Nine Thinite Kings.*

	Years.
1. Boethos	38
2. Kaiachos	39
3. Binothris	47
4. Tlas	17
5. Sethenes	41
6. Choires	17
7. Nephercheres	25
8. Sesochris	
9. * * *	
These nine kings reigned, together,	297

III. *Dynasty, of Nine Memphite Kings.*

1. Necherophes	28
2. Tosorthros	29

III. *Dynasty, of Eight Memphite Kings.*

1. Nacherochis.
2. Sesorthos.

Historical Notices.

In the reign of Bochus a great earthquake at Bubastos destroyed many people.

Apis, Mnevis, and the Mendesian goat, were deified in the reign of Choos.

In the reign of Biophis, women were allowed a share in the administration.

Nothing important is related of the three kings who succeeded Biophis.

In the reign of the seventh king, the Nile flowed with honey eleven days.—*Africanus.*

In the reign of Nacherochis, the Lybians revolted from the Egyptians; but, terrified by a portentous increase of the Moon, surrendered.

Sesorthos excelled in the art of healing, and was called the Egyptian Æsculapius. He taught men to build with hewn stones, and to engrave characters skilfully.—*Eusebius.*

	Years.		Years.
3. Tyris	7	The remaining six were in no way distinguished.	
4. Mesōchris	17		
5. Sōïphis	16		
6. Tosertasis	19	* * *	
7. Achis	42		
8. Siphouris	30	* * *	
9. Kerpheres	26		
Sum total,	214	Sum total of these reigns,	198

IV. *Dynasty, Eight Memphite Kings of another race.*		IV. *Dynasty, Seventeen Memphite Kings of another family.*	
1. Soris	29		
2. Souphis	63	* * *	
3. Souphis	66		
4. Mencheres	63		
5. Rhatoises	25	* * *	
6. Bicheres	22		
7. Sebercheres	7	* * *	
8. Thamphthis	9		
Sum total,	274	These kings reigned	448

V. *Dynasty of Elephantinites.*		V. *Dynasty of Thirty-one Elephantinite Kings.*	
1. Ousercheris	28	1. Othöes	
2. Sephres	13	2. * * *	
3. Nephercheres	20	3. * * *	

Historical Notices.

The third of these kings, named Souphis, built the great pyramid, which Herodotus attributed to Cheops. He despised the gods; but, repenting, wrote a book on sacred rites, which was very celebrated in Egypt.

Othoes was killed by his guards.—*Eusebius.*

	Years.
4. Sisiris	7
5. Cheres	20
6. Rathouris	44
7. Mercheres	9
8. Tarcheres	44
9. Obnus	33
Sum total.	248

	Years.
4. Phiops	100

* * *

* * *

VI. *Dynasty of Six Memphite Kings.*

1. Othöes, killed by his guards	
2. Phios	53
3. Methonsouphis	7
4. Phiops	100
5. Meutesouphis	1
6. Nitocris	12
Sum total.	203

VI. *Dynasty.*

* * *

* * *

Nitocris 3

VII. *Dynasty of Seventy Memphite Kings,*

Reigned ..... 70 days

* * *

VII. *Dynasty of Five Memphite Kings,*

Who reigned ..... 75 days

* * *

VIII. *Dynasty of Twenty-seven Memphite Kings,*

Reigned ..... 146 years

* * *

VIII. *Dynasty of Five Memphite Kings,*

Who reigned .... 100 years

* * *

Historical Notices.

Phiops began to reign when six years old, and reigned to the hundredth year.—*Eusebius.*

Nitocris, was a noble and beautiful woman, of fair (ξανθη) complexion, who built the third pyramid.

IX. *Dynasty, Nineteen Heracleotic Kings,*

	Years.
Who reigned	409
1. Achthoës	

* * *

* * *

X. *Dynasty of Nineteen Heracleotic Kings,*

Who reigned	185

* * *

* * *

XI. *Dynasty of Sixteen Diospolite Kings,*

Who reigned	43

* * *

* * *

After whom Ammenemes reigned	16

Thus far Manethon proceeds in his first tome. The number of kings hitherto is 192, whose reigns amount to 2350 years and 70 days.

IX. *Dynasty, Four Heracleopolite Kings,*

	Years.
Reigned	100
1. Achthos	

* * *

* * *

X. *Dynasty of Nineteen Heracleopolite Kings.*

Reigned	185

* * *

* * *

IX. *Dynasty of Sixteen Diospolite Kings.*

Reigned	43

* * *

* * *

After whom Ammenemes reigned	16

Thus far the first tome of Manethon, including 192 kings, 2300 years, and 79 days.

Historical Notices.

Achthoës was more cruel than any of his predecessors; and, after perpetrating many atrocities through all Egypt, he was afflicted with madness and killed by a crocodile.

SECOND TOME OF MANETHON'S CHRONICLE.

XII. *Dynasty of Seven Diospolite Kings.*	Years.
1. Geson Goses, or Sesonchoris, son of Ammenemes	46
2. Ammenemes	38
3. Sesostris	48
4. Lachares	8
5. Ammeres	8
6. Ammenemes	8
7. Skemiophris, his sister	4
Sum total,	160

XII. *Dynasty of Seven Diospolite Kings.*	Years.
1. Sesynchoris, son of Ammenemes	46
2. Ammenemes	38
3. Sesostris	48
4. Labaris	8
His three successors reigned	42
Sum total,	245

XIII. *Dynasty of Diospolitans.*	
Sixty kings reigned	184

* * *

XIV. *Dynasty.*	

* * *

XIII. *Dynasty of Diopolitans.*	
Sixty kings reigned	453

* * *

XIV. *Dynasty of Seventy-six Xoite Kings,*	
Reigned	184 or 484

Historical Notices.

Ammenemes was killed by his eunuchs.—*Africanus.*

Sesostris was four cubits, three palms, and two inches in stature. He conquered all Asia, and all the country as far as Thrace: he erected monuments every where of his victories "insculpique voluit inter fortes, virorum propria monumentis; inter imbelles, mulierum." He was reckoned the greatest king after Osiris.

Labaris built the labyrinth in the Arsenoitic nome, for a sepulchre.—*Eusebius.*

XV. *Dynasty of Shepherds.*

	Years.
1. Saites, who gave name to the Saite nome	19
2. Beon, or Byon	44
3. Pachnan, or Apachnas	61
4. Staan	50
5. Archles	49
6. Aphobis, or Aphophis	61
Sum total,	284

XVI. *Dynasty of Greek* Shepherds.*

Thirty-two Kings reigned 518

* * *

* * *

XVII. *Dynasty of other Shepherds, and Thebans.*

Forty-three Shepherds & forty-three Thebans of Diospolis 153

* * *

* * *

XV. *Dynasty of Diopolite Kings,*

Years.

Who reigned 250

* * *

* * *

XVI. *Dynasty of Five Theban Kings,*

Who reigned 190

* * *

* * *

XVII. *Dynasty consisted of foreign Shepherds from Phœnice.*

1. Saites, who reigned ..	19
2. Beon	43
3. Aphophis	14
4. Archles	30
Sum total,	106

Historical Notices.

The Fifteenth Dynasty were six foreign Kings from Phœnice, who made themselves masters of Memphis. They also built a city in the Sethroitic nome, whence they made an incursion, and gained possession of Egypt.—*Africanus.*

In the reign of Aphophis, Joseph came to Egypt.—*Eusebius.*

* Probably "Other Shepherds."

XVIII. *Dynasty of Sixteen Diospolite Kings.*

	Years.
1. Amōs	
2. Chebros	13
3. Amenophthis	21
4. Amersis	22
5. Misaphris	13
6. Misphragmouthosis	26
7. Touthmosis	9
8. Amenophis, or Memnon	31
9. Horus	37
10. Acherres	32
11. Rhos	6
12. Chebres	12
13. Acherres	12
14. Armeses	5
15. Rammeses	1
16. Amenōph	19
Sum total,	293

XVIII. *Dynasty of Sixteen Diospolite Kings.*

	Years.
1. Amosis	25
2. Chebron	13
3. Ammenophis	21
4. Miphris	12
5. Misphragmouthosis	26
6. Touthmosis	9
7. Amenophis, or Memnon	31
8. Orus	36 or 38
9. Achencherses	12
10. Athoris	39
11. Chencheres	16
12. Cherres	15
13. Armes or Danaus	5
14. Ammeses, or Ægyptus	68
15. Menophis	40
* * *	
Sum total,	348

XIX. *Dynasty of Seven Diospolitan Kings.*

1. Sethos	51
2. Rhapsaces	61

XIX. *Dynasty of Five Diospolitan Kings.*

1. Sethos	55
2. Rhapses	66

Historical Notices.

In the reign of Amōs, Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt.—*Africanus.* Syncellus says, "In his time Moses was educated in Egypt."

In the reign of Misphragmouthosis the deluge of Deucalion happened.

Amenophis, was called Memnon, of whom was the vocal statue.—*Africanus.*

In the reign of Chencheres, Eusebius conjectures that the Exode happened.

	Years.
3. Ammenephthes	20
4. Rammeses	60
5. Ammenemnes	5
6. Thouoris	—
Sum total,	209

	Years.
3. Ammenephthes	40
4. Ammenemmes	26
5. Thouoris	7
Sum total,	194

THIRD TOME OF MANETHON'S CHRONICLE.

XX. *Dynasty of Diospolite Kings.*	
Twelve kings reigned	135

* * *

* * *

XX. *Dynasty of Diospolite Kings.*	
Twelve kings reigned	178

* * *

* * *

XXI. *Dynasty of Seven Tanite Kings.*	
1. Smedes	26
2. Psousenes, or Psousenes	46
3. Nephelcheres	4
4. Amenenophthis	9
5. Osochor	6
6. Pinaches	9
7. Sousennes	30
Sum total,	130

XXI. *Dynasty of Seven Tanite Kings.*	
1. Smendis	26
2. Psousennes	41
3. Nephercheres	4
4. Amenophthis	9
5. Osochor	6
6. Psinaches	9
7. Psousennes	35
Sum total,	130

Historical Notices.

Thouoris, called Polybus by Homer, was the husband of Alcandra who entertained Menelaus.

XXII. *Dynasty, Nine Bubastite Kings.*

		Years.	
1.	Sesonchis	21	
2.	Osōrōth	15	
3.	* * *		
4.	* * *	25	
5.	* * *		
6.	Takellothis	13	
7.	* * *		
8.	* * *	42	
9.	* * *		
	Sum total,	120	

XXII. *Dynasty, Three Bubastite Kings.*

		Years.
1.	Sesenchosis	21
2.	Osorthon	15
3.	Takellothis	13
	Together,	49

XXIII. *Dynasty, Four Tanite Kings.*

1.	Petoubates	40
2.	Osorcho	8
3.	Psammous	10
4.	Zet	31
	Sum total,	89

XXIII. *Dynasty, Three Tanite Kings.*

1.	Petoubastes	25
2.	Osorthon	9
3.	Psammous	10
	Sum total,	44

XXIV. *Dynasty.*

Bocchoris the Saite	....	6

XXIV. *Dynasty.*

Bocchoris the Saite	....	44

Historical Notices.

In the reign of Petoubates was the first Olympiad.—*Africanus.*
Osorthon was by the Egyptians called Hercules.
In the reign of Bocchoris a lamb was heard to speak.

XXV. *Dynasty, Three Æthiopian Kings.*

	Years.
1. Sabbacon	8
2. Seuechos	14
3. Tarcos	18
Sum total,	40

XXV. *Dynasty, Three Æthiopians.*

	Years.
1. Sabbacon	12
2. Seuechos	12
3. Taracos	24
Sum total,	44

XXVI. *Dynasty, Nine Saite Kings.*

1. Stephinates	7
2. Nerepsōs	6
3. Nechao	8
4. Psammiticus	54
5. Nechao 2,	6
6. Psammouthis	6
7. Ouaphris	19
8. Amosis	44
9. Psammacherites 6 months	
Sum total,	150½

XXVI. *Dynasty, Nine Saite Kings.*

1. Ammeris the Ethiopian	12
2. Stephanathis	7
3. Nekepsos	6
4. Nechao	8
5. Psammitichus	45
6. Nechao 2,	6
7. Psammouthis, or Psammitichus 2	17
8. Ouaphris	25
9. Amosis	42
Sum total..	168

XXVII. *Dynasty, Eight Persians.*

1. Cambyses	6

XXVII. *Dynasty, Eight Persians.*

1. Cambyses	3

Historical Notices.

Sabbacon carried Bocchoris into captivity and burnt him alive.

Nechao 2 besieged Jerusalem, and carried king Joachas into captivity.—*Africanus.*

Under Ouaphris, the remainder of the Jews sought refuge, when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians.—*Africanus.*

Cambyses, in the fifth year of his reign over Persia, conquered Egypt.

	Years.
2. Darius Hystaspis	36
3. Xerxes the Great	21
4. Artabanus ..7 months	
5. Artaxerxes	41
6. Xerxes ....2 months	
7. Sogdianus ..7 months	
8. Darius, son of Xerxes	19
Sum total,	124½

	Years.
2. The Magi ..7 months	
3. Darius	3
4. Xerxes, son of Darius	21
5. Artaxerxes Longimanus	40
6. Xerxes 2....7 months	
7. Sogdianus ..7 months	
8. Darius, son of Xerxes	19
Sum total,	120

XXVIII. *Dynasty.*

Amyrteōs of Sais 6

XXVIII. *Dynasty.*

Amyrtæus the Saite 6

XXIX. *Dynasty, Four Mendesian Kings.*

1. Nephereites	6
2. Achoris	13
3. Psammouthis	1
4. Nephorotes..4 months	
Sum total,	20¼

XXIX. *Dynasty, Five Mendesian Kings.*

1 Nepherites	6
2. Achoris	13
3. Psammouthis	1
4. Nepherites ..4 months	
5. Mouthis	1
Sum total,	21¼

XXX. *Dynasty, Three Sebennyte Kings.*

1. Nectanebes.....	18
2. Teos	2
3. Nectanebes.....	18
Sum total,	38

XXX. *Dynasty, Three Sebennyte Kings.*

1. Nectanebes.....	10
2. Teos	2
3. Nectanebes	8
Sum total,	20

XXXI *Dynasty, Three Persian Kings.*

	Years.
1. Ochus, in the twentieth year of his reign over Persia	2
2. Arses	3
3. Darius.....	4
Sum total,	9

XXXI. *Dynasty, Three Persian Kings.*

	Years.
1. Ochus, in the twentieth year of his reign	2
2. Arses	4
3. Darius, who was conquered by Alexander ..	6
Sum total,	12

SECTION V.

Comparison of the two foregoing Chronicles.

It will not be amiss, before we proceed further, to pause and compare the Old Chronicle with that of Manethon. By this comparison some light will be thrown on the nature of both.

I. DYNASTY OF GODS.

Old Chronicle.

	Years.
1. Vulcan reigned an indefinite number of years	
2. Helios, the Sun 30,000	
3. The twelve gods, including Saturn	3,684
4. The eight demigods..	217

Chronicle of Manethon.

	Years.
Vulcan 9,000	
The Sun, and the rest of the six gods, including Saturn.....	2,658⅓
The nine demigods....3,068⅓	

II. DYNASTIES OF MORTAL KINGS.

Old Chronicle.		*Manethon, acccording to Africanus.*		*Eusebius.*	
	Years.		Years.		Years.
1st generation of the Cynic Circle		1st Dynasty of Thinites 253		1st Dynasty of Thinite Kings.....252	
2d generation		2d of Thinites.....302		2d of Thinites.....297	
3d generation		3d of Memphites ...214		3d of Memphites ...198	
4th generation		4th of Memphites.....274		4th of Memphites ...448	
5th generation		5th of Elephantines...248		5th of Elephanties ...248	
6th generation		6th of Memphites.....303		6th of Memphites ...203	
7th generation		7th of Memphites 70 days		7th of Memphites 75 days	
8th generation		8th of Memphites ...146		8th of Memphites ...100	
9th generation		9th of Heracleots.....409		9th of Heracleots ...100	
10th generation		10th of Heracleots.....185		10th of Heracleots ...185	
11th generation		11th of Diospolites..... 43		11th of Diospolites ... 43	
12th generation		12th of Diospolites.....160		12th of Diospolites ...245	
13th generation		13th of Diospolites.....184		13th of Diospolites ...453	
14th generation		14th * * *		14th of Xoites 184	
15th generation		15th of Shepherds 284		15th of Diospolites ...250	
Sum total of the 15 generations 443					
16th Dynasty of Tanites ... .190		16th of Shepherds 558		16th of Thebans.....196	
17th of Memphites ...103		17th of Shepherds and Thebans 253		17th of Shepherds 508	
18th of Memphites ...348		18th of Diospolites ...263		18th of Diospolites.....348	
19 194		19th of Diospolites ...208		19th of Diospolites.....194	
20 228		20th of Diospolites ...135		20th of Diospolites.....178	
21 121		21st of Tanites 130		21st of Tanites 130	
22 48		22d of Bubastites 120		22d of Bubastites 49	
23 19		23d of Tanites 89		23d of Tanites 44	
24 44		24th of Saïte 6		24th of Saïtes 44	
25 44		25th of Ethiopians..... 40		25th of Ethiopians..... 44	
26 177		26th of Saïtes 150		26th of Saïtes 168	
27 224		27th of Persians 124		27th of Persians 120	
28 ..... **		28th of Saïtes 6		28th of Saïtes 6	
29 39		29th of Mendesians ... 20		29th of Mendesians ... 21	
30 18		30th of Sebennytes..... 38		30th of Sebennytes..... 20	

This comparison affords some very important hints, and may enable us to unravel the perplexities which

* The kings of the eighteenth dynasty in the Old Chronicle

forms an important epoch in history, of which we these chronological fragments present to our first view.

It shows, in the first place, that the first fifteen dynasties of Manethon correspond to the fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle in the Old Chronicle. A more minute examination of Manethon's Chronicle will afford us reason to believe that the collective reigns of these fifteen dynasties ought to be comprised in a period nearly equal to the years of the Cynic Circle.

Secondly, it appears, that although the whole period of time comprised by the Old Chronicle is so prodigious, yet that if we withdraw the reigns of Vulcan, the Sun, and the other gods, which seem rather to be the supplements of an astronomical cycle than historical dates, the remaining number of years is reduced to a moderate space. The commencement of the first dynasty of mortal kings, that is, of the first generation of the Cynic circle, will then fall within the limit of authentic history, or at least will not go far beyond it.

Thirdly, the accession of the eighteenth dynasty

are termed Memphites, and in that of Manethon, Diospolites. There is, however, no contradiction between the two Chronicles in this instance; for Manethon himself informs us, in a passage that will be cited hereafter, that the princes of this race were kings of the Thebaid, who had driven out the Shepherds from Lower Egypt, and established their dominion over the whole country. They are called Diospolites, in reference to the first princes of the dynasty; and Memphites, with respect to the succeeding number.

have an opportunity of fixing the date from other sources. We are thus enabled to connect the whole series with authentic chronology; and a minute examination of the eighteenth and the twelve succeeding dynasties, which fall within the period when the Egyptian history becomes related to that of other nations, enables us to estimate what degree of regard the whole of these Chronicles deserves. These remarks are, however, thrown out merely by anticipation; and we require some further proof, before we are at liberty to adopt them. This proof will develope itself in the course of the following investigation.

We shall now extract the series of Egyptian kings which Syncellus has given, without assigning his authorities.

SECTION VI.

Series of Syncellus.

	Years.		Years.
1. Mestraim, or Mines, or Menes	35	9. Amenemes	29
2. Kouroudes	63	10. Amosis	2
3. Aristarchus	34	11. Akesepthres	13
4. Spanius	36	12. Achoreus	9
5. * * * } 72		13. Armïyses	4
6. * * * }		14. Chamoïs	12
7. Serapis	23	15. Amesises	65
8. Sesonchosis	49	16. * * *	14
		17. Ousĕ	50

	Years.
18. Rameses	29
19. Ramessomenes	15
20. Thysimares	31
21. Ramsseseos	23
22. Ramessemeno	19
In his reign Abraham visited Egypt, says Syncellus.	
23. Ramesse, son of Bäetes	39
24. Ramesse, son of Ouaphres	29
25 Koncharis	6
26. Silites	19
27. Baion	43
28. Apachnas	36
29. Aphophis	41
30. Sethos	50
31. Kertus	29
32. Aseth	24
33. Amosis or Tethmosis	22
34. Chebron	13
35. Amephes	15
36. Amenses	11
37. Misphragmouthosis	16
38. Misphres	23
39. Touthmosis	39
40. Amenophthis	34
41. Horus	48
42. Achencheres	25
43. Athoris	29
44. Chencheres	26
45. Acheres	8 or 30
46. Armaios, or Danaus	9
47. Ramesses, or Ægyptus	68
48. Amenophis	8
49. Thouoris	17
50. Nechepsos	19
51. Psammouthis	13
52. * * *	4
53. Kertus	20
54. Rhampsis	45
55. Amenses, called also Amenemes	26
56. Ochyras	14
57. Amedes	27
58. Thouoris, or Polybus	50
59. Athothes, or Phousanus	28
60. Kenkenes	39
61. Ouennephes	42
62. Soussakeim, who overcame the Lybians, Æthiopians, and Troglydytes, and all the country from Egypt to Jerusalem, which he plundered	34
63. Psouenos	25
64. Ammenophes	9
65. Nephecheres	6
66. Saites	15
67. Psinaches	9
68. Petoubastes	44
69. Osorthon	9
70. Psammos	10
71. Koncharis	21
72. Osorthon	15
73. Takelophes	13
74. Bocchoris	44
75. Sabakon	12
76. Sebechon	12
77. Tarakes	20
78. Amäes	38
79. Stephinathes	27
80. Nakepsos	13
81. Nechaab 1	1
82. Psammitichus	14
83. Nechaab 2	9

	Years.		Years.
84. Psammouthis, or Psammitichus 2	17	88. Nepherites	6
85. Ouaphres	34	89. Achoris	13
86. Amasis	50	90. Psammouthis	2
		91. Menas	4
87. Amyrtaius	6	92. Nectanebes	2
		93. Teos	2

This series of kings reigned, according to Syncellus, from A. M. 2900 to 5148, that is, in the computation of this chronologer, from 2600 B. C. to 302 B. C.

SECTION VII.

Egyptian Chronology, according to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

The series of Egyptian kings given by Herodotus agrees in the main with that of Diodorus, though they differ from each other in some particulars. This will be best illustrated by setting down the succession according to each historian, in opposite columns. We shall first mention the great numbers, as we have them from both.

Herodotus enumerates three generations or dynasties of gods, who reigned before Menes. The first were the Eight, or the elder gods. He has not mentioned the period of their reigns. It appears that they resigned the sceptre of Egypt about 17,000 years before Amasis, that is, before the Persian conquest, in B. C. 525. They were succeeded by the dynasty of the twelve younger gods, one of whom was Hercules.

The twelve were followed by Osiris and the other gods of the third generation; from whose reign, to Amasis, the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, reckoned 15,000 years.

Diodorus agrees with Herodotus pretty exactly in this piece of chronology. He says the gods and demigods reigned in Egypt almost 18,000 years. Orus was the last of them; and after him mortal kings reigned 15,000

The total number is 33,000

This period terminates at the one hundred and eightieth Olympiad, during which Diodorus visited Egypt.*

We now proceed to the mortal kings.

According to Herodotus.	*According to Diodorus.*
1. Menes.	1. Menis, or Mneves.
	Many generations after whom, Gnephachthus, father of Bocchoris the Wise, who led an army into Arabia.
* * *	* * *
After Menes reigned successively three hundred and thirty monarchs, of whom eighteen were Ethiopians, and one an Egyptian woman, and the only queen, named	Fifty-two kings, who reigned 1,400 years. After which
Nitocris	Bousiris
	* * *
	Seven reigns.
	* * *
	Bousiris 2d
	A chasm in Diodorus's series.
	Osymandyas
* * *	* * *
	Seven reigns.
	* * *

* Diod. lib. i. cap. 4.

	Years.		Years.
		Ouchoreus	
		* * *	
		Twelve reigns.	
		* * *	
		Myris	
		* * *	
		Six reigns	
		* * *	
Moiris, the 332d king		Sesoosis	
Sesostris, the 333d		Sesoosis 2d, his son	
Pheron, his son,		* * *	
who was succeeded by a Memphite citizen whom the Greeks call		Many generations.	
		* * *	
		Amosis, a tyrant	
		Actisanes, an Ethiopian	
		Menes, or Marus	
		An interregnum of five generations.	
Proteus		Ketes, or Proteus	
Rhampsinitus, succeeded by		Remphis	
		* * *	
		Six reigns.	
		* * *	
		Nilus	
Cheops, reigned	50	Chemmis, or Chembes	50
Kephrenes	56	Kephres	56
Mycerinus		Mycherinus, or Cherinus	
Asychis		Bocchoris, a very wise prince	
Anysis			
Sabaco, an Ethiopian		Sabach, or Sabaco	
Anysis again		Anarchy for two years.	
Sethos, a priest of Vulcan			
Twelve kings / Psammetichus alone	54	Twelve kings / Psammetichus alone	
		* * *	
		Five generations.	
Necus, his son	17	* * *	
Psammis	6	Apries	22
Apries	25	Amasis	55
Amasis	44		

The end of the reign of Amasis is the epoch of the destruction of the independence of Egypt by the

conquest of Cambyses, and is a well-ascertained date in history.

We shall now extract the relic preserved by Syncellus, of the Laterculus of Eratosthenes.

Many names in this series are the same as those which occur in the succession detailed by Herodotus and Diodorus; and they will assist us, in a very important manner, in connecting the chronology of these writers with that of Manethon and the Old Chronicle.

SECTION VIII.

Remains of the Laterculus of Eratosthenes.

KINGS OF THE THEBANS.

"Apollodorus, the chronologer," says Syncellus, "has recorded another dynasty of Egyptian or Theban kings, as they are termed, consisting of thirty-eight princes, who reigned 1076 years. This catalogue was collected by Eratosthenes from Egyptian authorities by order of the kings, and written out by him in the Greek language."

Syncellus says that this series commences in the year of the world 2900, and terminates in 3976, that is, according to his computation, from 2600 to 1524. before Christ.

	Years.
1. Mines Thebinites, interpreted Dionius	62
2. Athothes ..... ——— Hermogenes	59
3. Athothes ..... ——— Hermogenes	32

		Years.
4.	Diabies, interpreted Philesteros, or Philetærus	16
5.	Pemphos, which should be written Semphos, son of Athothes ..... Heracleides	18
6.	Toigar Amachos Momcheiri, a Memphite, interpreted "A man with supernumerary limbs, or Tisandros Perissomeles"	79
7.	Stoichos, son of Toigar,—Mars Insensate	6
8.	Gosormies ..... Ετησιπαντος (evidently a corrupt reading: Scaliger reads Αιτήσις παντων)	30
9.	Mares son of Gosormies,—Heliodorus, gift of the Sun	26
10.	Anöyphes ..... Filius Communis	20
11.	Sirios (Siroes, Scalig.)—Genæ filius, or according to others Abascantus, i. e. invidiâ carens	18
12.	Chnoubos Gneuros,—Aureæ vel Aurei filius	22
13.	Rauōsis ..... Archicrater, or Robustorum princeps	13
14.	Bïyris	10
15.	Saophis ..... Comatus vel Negociator	29
16.	Sensaophis, that is, Saophis, 2	27
17.	Moscheris ..... Heliodotus	31
18.	Mousthis	33
19.	Pammos Archondes	35
20.	Apappous* ..... Maximus, reigned one hour less than	100
21.	Achescos Ocaras	1
22.	Nitocris, a queen .. Minerva Victrix	6
23.	Myrtaios ..... Ammonodotus	22
24.	Thyosimares ..... (κραταιος ὁ εστιν ηλιος, or probably ὁ εστιν ηλιος κραταιος,—idem sonat quod Sol. invictus	12
25.	Thinillus ..... Qui auxit patrium imperium	8
26.	Semphroucratis .... Hercules Arpocrates	18
27.	Chouther ..... Taurus tyrannus	7
28.	Meures ..... Philoscorus, i. e. philosophus?	12
29.	Chomaephtha .... Mundus Philephæstus	11

* Apappous is interpreted Μεγιστος, referring, perhaps, to the stature of this king. Apophis was an Egyptian giant, according to Plutarch. This seems to be the name of which the Greeks made Epaphus.

		Years.
30. Ancounios Ochy, interpreted Tyrannus		60
31. Penteathyris*		16
32. Stamenemes 2		23
33. Sistosichermes	Herculis robur	55
34. Maris		43
35. Siphōas,† Hermes	Vulcani filius	5
36. * * *		14
37. Phrouron	Nilus	5
38. Amouthantaios		63

The foregoing list was obtained by Eratosthenes, from the sacred scribes of Thebes or Diospolis.

Syncellus supposes the last king to have ascended the throne in A. M. 3913, that is 1587 years before Christ. Fifty-three other names were inserted in the catalogue of Apollodorus, who succeeded him. These Syncellus has omitted.

It is probable that Eratosthenes had continued his chronicle down to his own time, for this was the common practice of chronologers in that age. It is further to be supposed, unless we mean to impute a fraud to Syncellus, a suspicion for which there is no ground, that this compiler obtained the date he has given for the termination of this series of kings, by computing upwards from the time of the Ptolemies

* Penteathyris is evidently P'hont Athyri, the high-priest of Athyri. Some of the kings were named simply after the gods, as several in this catalogue. So Thouoris, seems to be Thoueris, who was an Egyptian goddess.

† Siphoas, Hermes, Vulcani filius. Jablonski proves that we ought to read Siphthas, or rather Saphtha, and that Hermes was the Egyptian name, with a Greek termination, and not a part of the Greek interpretation of the name Siphtha.

the reigns of the last fifty-three princes, as originally set down by Eratosthenes. This being the case, if, to 1524, the period which intervened between the demise of the last king in the series and the Christian era, we add 1075, the sum total of all the reigns, from Menes to Amouthantaios (according to Syncellus's way of computing it, for the numbers in reality amount only to 1055) we shall obtain 2662 years before Christ, for the date of the accession of Menes, the first king of Egypt, according to Eratosthenes. This calculation, however, proceeds on the supposition that Syncellus has given us a faithful transcript, and has accurately reckoned the total numbers.

PART II.

ANALYSIS OF THE FOREGOING DOCUMENTS.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Observations.

We shall now enter upon the attempt to elicit order from this assemblage of confused and contradictory documents. Nothing can be more discouraging than the first survey of the fragments we have extracted.* A nearer scrutiny will, however, discover many marks of agreement and mutual confirmation; and as the discrepancy is too great to allow us to regard these coincidences as the effect of design, we shall thus obtain a proof that the antiquity of Egypt rests on foundation of authentic memorials.

* When I first examined these fragments, with a view of computing from them the Egyptian chronology, they appeared to me to be an inextricable tissue of error and contradiction. I repeated my attempt several times, at intervals, before I obtained the smallest hope of success, or a ray of light to guide me through the labyrinth. At length I thought I discovered a clue, which I have followed, and have persuaded myself that it has enabled me to unravel the mystery.

The method we shall follow in the investigation of this subject is, to begin with the later dynasties, which fall within the era of general history. After the erection of the Persian monarchy, and even for some ages before that era, from the period when the Greeks became a powerful maritime people, the affairs of different nations are more within the sphere of our acquaintance than during the earlier times. The annals of Greece become now pretty well fixed, by means of the Olympic register; and those of the East, by the succession of Assyrian kings, in Ptolemy's Canon. By comparing those fragments of history, which refer to these later ages, we obtain an insight into the methods of the Egyptian chronologers, and learn how far they can be trusted in the darker regions of antiquity.

Our chief dependance must be, throughout this analysis, on historical synchronisms. It is not by taking up either of the successions as above copied from the old authors, and by adding up all the years from the beginning to the end, that we shall make out any agreement between them. Their accuracy will not bear such a test as this. In each, however, we shall find some particular names and dates which coincide with some of the names and dates in other tables. These we must take as fixed points, on which the whole of our machinery must hinge; from these we compute upwards and downwards, and if we find too long a succession of reigns in any list intervening between two eras well ascertained, they must be considered as interpolated, if it appears that the dates originally corresponded.

It has been through the want of attention to this

rule of proceeding that so many authors have been led into error, and have failed to elucidate these fragments of chronology.

SECTION II.

Dates of the Egyptian Chronology computed upwards, from the Persian conquest to the accession of Psammitichus.

The twenty-sixth dynasty, both in the Old Chronicle and in that of Manethon, terminates with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. This epoch we shall regard as the conclusion of the Egyptian chronology. It is a fixed point in history, concerning which all chronologers are agreed. Accordingly, we shall take no concern about the succeeding part of any of these records. We have only to dispose of the first twenty-six dynasties.

The Persian conquest happened in the year before Christ 525.* From this period we commence our reckoning, and compute upwards towards the more obscure ages.

* Amasis died, according to Diodorus, in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad, while Cambyses was making preparations for invading Egypt, and was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who reigned only six months. Diodor. lib. i. All chronologers agree in this date. See Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. Usher's Chronologia Veteris Testamenti.

The longest reign in the twenty-sixth dynasty is that of Psammitichus, who was one of the earliest princes. Herodotus says that he reigned in Egypt fifty-four years, and with this number Africanus agrees. From the time of Psammitichus, the Greeks had constant intercourse with Egypt, and from this era, to that of the Persian conquest, the succession of reigns is set down with an exact reckoning of years by Herodotus.

Several of the intermediate princes are also mentioned in our sacred Scriptures, and the dates of their reigns are ascertained by events recorded in other histories. On these accounts we may consider the Egyptian chronology of the intervening period as settled by authentic memorials.

The following is a tabular view of this succession :

According to Herodotus.	Years.	*According to Jul. Africanus.*	Years.	*According to Eusebius.*	Years.	*According to Syncellus.*	Years.
Psammitichus reigned	54	Psammitichus reigned	54	Psammitichus reigned	45	Psammitichus reigned	44
Nekus	1	Nechao II.	6	Nechao II.	6	Nechaab	9
Psammis	6	Psammouthis	6	Psammouthis	17	Psamoutis	17
Apries	25	Ouaphris	19	Ouaphris	25	Ouaphris	34
Amasis	44	Amosis	44	Amosis	42	Amasis	50
Add...	525						
	671*						

Herodotus says, that Necus, whom Manethon calls Nechao, defeated the Syrians at Magdolum, and

* There is some confusion in the numbers given by Manethon's transcribers, which appears to have arisen from carelessness in copying. In some instances the lengths of succeeding reigns are reversed. It seems tolerably evident that in this succession the copies of Manethon originally agreed exactly with Herodotus.

gained possession of the town of Cadytis, which he describes as a city in the mountains of Palestine, equal in extent to Sardis. This city is doubtless Jerusalem, and the battle of Magdolum, is the battle of Megiddo, at which Pharaoh Necho killed Josiah, the king of Judah, after which he gained possession of Jerusalem, and raised Jehoiakim to the vacant throne. The death of king Josiah is fixed in the scriptural chronology, about the year 607 B. C. which falls within the reign of Necus, as dated by Herodotus and Manethon, and this agreement confirms the credit of these historians.

Secondly, Apries, or Ouaphris, according to Herodotus, made war against Tyre and Sidon. He was engaged in the affairs of Syria. Accordingly we hear of him in Scripture, under the name of Hophra. Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, relying on the assistance of Pharaoh Hophra, revolted from Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. This was the same Egyptian prince who was threatened by the prophet Ezechiel.

The destruction of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon, which, according to the sacred historians,

Herodotus says that Psammitichus reigned fifteen years jointly with eleven other chieftains, and afterwards acquired the sole command. Some writers have imagined that the fifty-four years of his reign comprised only the period of his single administration, and add fifteen years to compute the date of his accession jointly with the eleven other chiefs. But the most obvious meaning of Herodotus is against this supposition, and it is contradicted by the circumstances of the history, and by the tables of Manethon, as we shall observe on examining the preceding part of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

happened during the reign of Hophra, is fixed by the scriptural chronology in the year B. C. 586, and this date falls within the reign of Ouaphris, as computed Herodotus and Manethon.

These coincidences prove that we may depend on the accuracy of our chronicles in this part of their record. We shall therefore regard the death of Psammitichus in B. C. 617, and the commencement of his reign in B. C. 671, as dates well ascertained.

SECTION III.

Dates of Egyptian Chronology computed upwards, from Psammitichus, to the period when Egypt became subject to Ethiopian kings.

It appears, from the agreement of several historians, that at a period not very long preceding the reign of Psammitichus, the throne of Egypt had fallen into the possession of the Ethiopians. Herodotus assigns to Sabbaco, the Ethiopian monarch of Egypt, a reign of fifty years; but the account of this prince, in the narrative of the Greek historian, is accompanied by circumstances which prove that there is some mistake in this number. Manethon's chronicle, as preserved by Eusebius, assigns to him only twelve years, and gives forty-four to the whole Ethiopian dynasty, consisting of three kings.

That the Ethiopians had at this time possession of Egypt, we might learn from the record of the history

of Israel. For we read in it that Sennacherib, the Assyrian, carried on war with the Ethiopian king called Tirhakah; and there is no probable way in which the arms of the Ethiopians could come into contest with those of the Assyrians, unless we suppose that the Ethiopians had gained possession of Egypt, and had thence attempted to add Palestine to their possessions, a country which was always an object of strife between the rulers of Egypt and Syria.

Strabo mentions an Ethiopian prince, whom he calls Tearchon, and reports to have been a great conqueror. It has been conjectured by Usher, with great probability, that this Tearchon was the Tirhakah above mentioned.

The last prince of the Ethiopian dynasty, according to Manethon, was Tarakos, and his reign, if we compute upwards from the accession of Psammitichus, coincides with the age assigned to Tirhakah by the Hebrew scriptures. There can scarcely be a doubt that these are two names for the same prince: in fact, they only differ in the method of expressing oriental words in European orthography.

We shall bring this succession into a tabular form, beginning with the twenty-fourth dynasty.

According to Eusebius.	*According to Africanus.*	*According to Syncellus.*	*According to Herodotus.*
Years.	Years.	Years.	
Bocchoris the Saite reigned 44	Bocchoris the Saite reigned 6	Bocchoris reigned 44	Anysis, a blind man

XXV. *Dynasty of Ethiopians.*		XXV. *Dynasty of Ethiopians.*					
Sabbakon	12	Sabbakon	8	Sabakon	12	Sabakon the Ethiop.....	50
Seuechos.....	12	Seuechos.....	14	Sebechon	14	Anysis restored.	
Tarakos	20	Tarkos.....	18	Tarakos	20	Sethon,* a priest of Vulcan.	
	44		49		49		

XXVI. *Dynasty of Saites.*		XXVI. *Dynasty of Saites.*			
Ammeres	12	Stephinates	7	Amaes.....	38
Stephanathis ...	7	Nechepsos	6	Stephinathis ...	27
Nechepsos	6	Nechao	8	Nachepsos.....	13
Nechao	9	Psammitichus...		Nechaab 1.....	8
Psammitichus				Psammitichus	
	33				

* That the Sethon of Herodotus was contemporary with the Tarakos of Manethon, may easily be proved. Sethon was reigning at the time when Sennacherib experienced his celebrated defeat. The reign of Sennacherib was very short; it began in the twelfth, and ended in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah. It was, therefore, within the period of Sethon's reign.

Now Sennacherib was engaged in a war with an Ethiopian king. But the last of the Ethiopian kings in Egypt was Tarakos; after him the dynasty was removed. The reign of Tarakos is, therefore, the last epoch to which we can assign the expedition of Sennacherib, and the number of years laid down by Manethon, between the reign of Nechao, or Pharaoh Necho, and the Ethiopian dynasty, will not allow us to remove the date of this event further back. Tarakos the Ethiopian was, therefore, ruler of Egypt in the time of Sennacherib; though the Egyptian priests seem to have led Herodotus to suppose that the crown was then on the head of one of their own order. Perhaps the high priest of Vulcan was nominally king, while the royal power and the command of the armies were vested in the Ethiopian chief, who is, therefore, reckoned among the kings, in the most accurate table of this succession.

Now, since 33 + 671 = 701, the end of the reign of Tarakos, and of the Ethiopian dynasty, happened in the year B. C. 701, and their accession in 721. The war of Sennacherib the Assyrian against Tirhakah took place in the 14th or 15th year of the reign of Hezekiah, viz. B. C. 710; and thus we find that the scriptural date of Tirhakah's expedition falls within the period set down by Manethon for the reign of Tarakos.

This war of Tirhakah against Sennacherib is remarkable for a celebrated event, which is recorded by the sacred and profane writers in different ways, but by both is mentioned as miraculous. Sennacherib, in his march against the Ethiopian king, meditated an attack upon Jerusalem, then governed by the pious Hezekiah. It was on this occasion that the army of the Assyrian king was destroyed in the night by an angel of the Lord, and Jerusalem miraculously saved. Herodotus also relates the expedition of Sennacherib against Egypt, which was at that time governed by a prince, called by the historian Sethon, who was a priest of Vulcan, and was hated by the Egyptian army. The priest, being deserted by his soldiery, prayed to his god, and was answered by a dream, in which he was commanded to march boldly and attack the Assyrian army. He proceeded at the head of a few labourers and mechanics, and obtained an easy victory; for, in the depth of the night, a swarm of rats had been sent by Vulcan to gnaw the bow-strings of the Assyrian soldiers. There is scarcely a doubt that these relations belong to the same event.

Another king of Egypt is mentioned in the Scriptures by the name of So, with whom Hoshea, king

of Israel, entered into a secret alliance against Shalmaneser, the Assyrian, the predecessor of Sennacherib. In consequence of this treaty, the Assyrians laid siege to Samaria, and carried the ten tribes of Israel into captivity. This alliance between Hoshea and So was made about 725 B. C. a date which falls within the reign of Sevechus; and it hence appears that So was the second prince of the Ethiopian dynasty.

The result is that the subjugation of Egypt by the Ethiopians, or the union of the Egyptian and Ethiopian crowns, must be dated in the year 745 B. C.

SECTION IV.

Of the Four Dynasties which preceded the Ethiopian Conquest, viz. the 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th.

The following is a comparative table of the succession of these dynasties, according to Eusebius, Africanus, and Syncellus.

ACCORDING TO EUSEBIUS.		ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS.		ACCORDING TO SYNCELLUS.	
Twenty-first Dynasty of Tanites.		*Twenty-first Dynasty of Tanites.*			
	Years.		Years.		Years.
Smendes	26	Smedes	26	Soussakeim	34
Psousennes	41	Phousenes	46	Psouenos	25
Nephercheres	4	Nephelcheres	4		
Ammenephthis	9	Amenopthis	9	Ammenophes	9
Osochor	6	Osochor	6	Nephecheres	6
Psinaches	6	Psinaches	9	Saites	5
Psousennes 2	35	Psousennes	30	Psinaches	9
	Total...130		Total...130		Total...98

Twenty-second Dynasty of Boubastites.	Years.	*Twenty-second Dynasty of Boubastites.*	Years.		Years.
Sesonchosis	21	Sesonchis	21	Potoubastes	9
Osorthon	15	Osoreth	15	Osorthon	44
Takellothis	13	Three anonymous kings	25		
		Takellothis	13		
		Three anonymous kings	42		
Total...	49	Total...	116	Total...	53

Twenty-third Dynasty of Tanites.		*Twenty-third Dynasty of Tanites.*			
Potoubastes	25	Potoubates	40	Koncharis.	13
Osorthon	9	Osorthon	8	Osorthon	15
Psammos	10	Psammos	10	Takelophes	21
		Zet	31		

Twenty-fourth Dynasty of one Saite.		*Twenty-fourth Dynasty of one Saite.*			
Bocchoris	44	Bocchoris	6	Bocchoris	44
Total of 23d and 24th Dynasties	88		95		

In computing the reigns of these dynasties, we shall follow Eusebius, whose copy of Manethon agrees best with the table of Syncellus, and is without those chasms which interrupt the continuity of succession in that of Africanus.

The 21st dynasty	130
22d dynasty	49
23d dynasty	44
24th dynasty	44
Total..	267

We shall thus place the commencement of the twenty-first dynasty, 267 years before Sabbacon, who

began to reign in B. C. 745. Now, 745+267=1012, and the commencement of the twenty-first dynasty will therefore be fixed in the year 1012 B.C.; and the first king, Smedes, or Soussakeim, as he is called by Syncellus, reigned until 986 B.C.

It thus becomes probable that Syncellus was correct in his conjecture that this Soussakeim was the Shishak of the Hebrews. The invasion of Judæa by Shishak may be dated, according to a computation which follows the chronology of the Scriptures,* in the year B.C. 985; which is one year after the death of Smedes, according to Africanus; and an error of a single year may, in this case, be regarded as a remarkable instance of accuracy.†

SECTION. V.

We now proceed to the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, considering the accession of the twenty-first in B.C. 1012 as an established date.

* See Note B.

† The name of the next king, Psousennes, also bears some resemblance to Soussakeim, or Sisak.

AFRICANUS.	Years.	EUSEBIUS.	Years.	SYNCELLUS.	Years.
Twentieth Dynasty, consisting of twelve Diospolite kings, reigned	178	Twentieth Dynasty, consisting of twelve Diospolite kings, reigned	135		
Entirely lost.		Entirely lost.		Phousanos	28
* * *		* * *		Kenkenes, or Athothes	39
* * *		* * *		Ouennephes	42
				Total...	109

This dynasty being wholly lost in the copies of Africanus and Eusebius, we cannot depend on the sums total assigned to the collective reigns. I follow the number given by Africanus, whose tables are most accurate and complete in the early dynasties, and date the accession of this dynasty at 1012+135=1147 B. C.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

				Thouoris	17
				Nekepsos	19
				Psammouthis	13
					4
1 Sethos	55	Sethos	51	Kertos	20
Rhapses	66	Rhapsakes	61	Rhampsis	45
Ammenephthes	40	Ammenephthes	20	Amenemes	26
Ammenemmes	26	Rammeses	60	Ochyras	14
Thouoris, the Polybus of Homer	7	Ammenemnes	5	Amedes	27
		Thouoris, or Polybus	7	Thouoris, or Polybus	50
Total...	194	Total...	204		

In this instance the table of Africanus is more complete than that of Eusebius, who seems to have omitted one reign, viz. that of Rammeses. This king is mentioned by Josephus as the son of Amenephthes, or Amenophis, and therefore his name originally stood

in the series. 1147+204 give 1351 B.C. as the date of the accession of Sethos. If we follow Eusebius, this date must be reduced ten years.

The last king of this dynasty is Thouoris, who, according to Manethon, was the king of Diospolis, said by Homer to have entertained Menelaus; he is, by that poet, named Polybus. Consequently, we are here near to the era of the Trojan war, which, according to the computation of Eratosthenes, and other old chronologers, happened in the year 1183 B.C.* That date falls in the reign of Rammeses, the fourth Diospolitan king in the above list of Africanus. Now, it is remarkable that Pliny, who can scarcely be supposed to have made reference in this point to the tables of Manethon, has recorded that Troy was taken in the reign of an Egyptian king, named Ramises. We have thus obtained an unexpected confirmation of the authenticity of these memorials.

The accession of the nineteenth dynasty, which must be fixed in the year 1353 if we follow Africanus, and ten years later if we follow the tables of Eusebius, is one of the most important epochs in the Egyptian history. The first king, named Sethos, or Sethosis, is the Sesostris of Herodotus, and the Sesoosis of Diodorus Siculus. This we learn from the account given of his exploits by Josephus.

This date of the reign of Sesostris corresponds very nearly with the period assigned to him by Larcher, who has computed from the data afforded by Herodotus, without making any reference to the dynasties of Manethon.

* Refer to Note C.

We may observe that this is the most probable period in history for the existence of such a conqueror, viz. about two centuries before the Trojan war. If he had lived in later times, the historians of Greece could scarcely have failed to receive some notice of him among the nations he subdued.

SECTION V.

The Eighteenth Dynasty, and the Period of the Exode.

The eighteenth dynasty is a very long and a very important one. The termination of its reign immediately precedes the conqueror Sesostris, the date of whose accession we have fixed at 1350 years B. C. Its commencement is connected with the departure of the Shepherd kings from Egypt. The succession of kings belonging to this dynasty is found in a tolerably complete catalogue, in the extracts from the works of Manethon given by Josephus, and in the chronological compilations of Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. It is as follows.

AFRICANUS.	Years.	EUSEBIUS.	Years.	JOSEPHUS.	Ys.	Ms.
Amosis	**	Amosis	25	Tethmosis	25	4
Chebros	13	Chebron	13	Chebron	13	0
Amenophthis	21	Ammenophis	21	Amenophis	20	7
Amersis	22			Amesses	21	9
Misaphris	13	Miphris	12	Mephres	12	9
Misphragmuthosis	26	Misphragmuthosis	26	Misphragmuthosis	21	10
Touthmosis	9	Touthmosis	9	Thmosis	9	8
Amenophis, or Memnon	31	Amenophis	31	Amenophis	30	10
Horus	37	Horus	36	Orus	36	5
Acherres	32	Achencherses	12	Akenchres	12	1
Rathos	6	Athoris	39	Rathosis	9	0
Chebres	12	Chencheres	16	Achencheres	12	5
		Acherres	8			
Acherres 2	12	Cherres	15	Achencheres	12	3
Armeses	5	Armes, or Danaus	5	Armais, or Danaus	4	0
Rammesses	1	Ammeses, or Ægyptus	68	Ramesses, or Ægyptus	1	4
				Harmesses Miamun	66	2
Amenoph	19	Menophis	40	Amenophis	19	6
Sum total,	263		348		328	11
Corrected sum,	259		376			

The table of reigns in the extract by Josephus is evidently the most exact, and we shall follow him in his computation as far as it extends. The number of years assigned to this dynasty by Josephus is 328, and eleven months, which we shall call 329 years. Now, if we add this period to the date above mentioned, of 1350, we obtain 1659 for the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. This is very near the Scriptural date of the exode of the Israelites from Egypt; and the synchronism of this event with the departure of the Shepherd kings leads us to some interesting inquiries and conclusions.

Josephus considered the Shepherds who possessed Egypt as the Israelites, and he does not betray the least suspicion that Manethon intended to describe any other people by that name. Most of the moderns, except Perizonius, have been of a different opinion. As this is a question of great importance in the Egyptian history, we shall take some pains to determine it.

In the Letter of Josephus to Apion we find a considerable fragment of the second book of Manethon, containing a history of the Shepherd kings which seems to have been extracted, nearly in its entire state, from the Egyptian Chronicles of that historian. These Chronicles appear to have been a compilation from different sources.* The author professed to have taken this part of it, as Josephus informs us, from the sacred and authentic records of his country. The following is a translation of those passages which are most important to our present purpose.

History of the Invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, from Manethon.

"There was a king of Egypt, whose name was Timaus, in whose time it pleased God, I know not on what account, to afflict us with calamities; and a tribe of people, of mean origin, entered our country from the East with unexpected boldness, and easily gained possession of it without fighting a battle.

* This appears even from the title of the Old Chronicle in Eusebius's Canon.

Having brought the princes of the country into subjection to their power, they barbarously burnt the towns, and destroyed the temples of our gods. They exercised the utmost atrocity towards the native inhabitants, putting the males to the sword, and reducing their wives and children to slavery. At length they chose a king from their own people, whose name was Salatis; and who, residing at Memphis, held all the upper and lower Egypt tributary, and placed garrisons in all the important places. He provided chiefly for the security of the eastern frontier, apprehending that the Assyrians, who were then very powerful and ambitious, might make an attempt to get possession of the kingdom; and, having found a city conveniently situated for his purpose in the Saïtic nome, on the eastern side of the river of Bubastos, which, from some theological fable, had the name of Auaris, he made a settlement there; and having strongly fortified it, placed in it a garrison of two hundred and forty thousand men. There he held his residence in the summer, partly that he might have an opportunity of *measuring out corn* and paying his people their wages, and partly that, by frequently exercising his troops, he might keep strangers in awe of his power. This chief reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by another, whose name was Baion, and who reigned forty-four years. Afterwards Apachnas reigned thirty-six years and seven months; his successor, Apophis, sixty-one years; Janias, fifty years and one month; and lastly, Assis, forty-nine years and two months. These six princes, who were the first rulers of the Shepherds, carried on continual war, and endeavoured to destroy the name and nation of Egypt.

Their whole race was called *Hycsōs,* which means Shepherd Kings; for *Hyc,* in the sacred language, signifies a *king;* and *Sōs,* in the vulgar idiom, means a *shepherd* or *shepherds;* and thus the name Hycsōs is composed. Some say that they were a tribe of Arabs." "But in another copy of Manethon," adds Josephus, "I find that *Hyc* does not signify *kings,* but that the Shepherds are distinguished by this appellation as captives; for *Hyc,* or *Hac,* with an aspirate, is the term for captive, in the Egyptian language; and this interpretation," he adds, "is the most probable, and the most consistent with ancient history." "These kings above-mentioned," continues Manethon, "of the people called Shepherds, and their posterity, held Egypt under their sway about five hundred and eleven years. After this period the Egyptian kings in the Thebaid and other parts of the country revolted from the yoke of the Shepherds, and a severe and obstinate contest was carried on between them." It is added that, "under a king whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the Shepherds were reduced, defeated, and driven out of the rest of Egypt, and shut up in a place containing ten thousand acres of land; the name of which was Avaris." "This place," says Manethon, "the Shepherds fortified with a strong and lofty wall, for the security of their possessions and spoil; but Thouthmosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, laid siege to the fortress with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, and attempted to take it by force; but at length giving up this hope, entered into a compact with the besieged, that they should leave Egypt and depart without molestation whithersoever they chose. These

people accordingly, in consequence of their engagement, departed from Egypt with their whole families and all their possessions, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand men, and travelled through the wilderness towards Syria; but, fearing the Assyrians, who were then powerful in Asia, built a city in the country, which is now called Judæa, sufficiently ample to contain this multitude of people, and gave to their city the name of Jerusalem." Josephus mentions, in another place, that Manethon had recorded the conquest of Judæa by these exiles, and added that they settled in Jerusalem, and built the temple: all which information he drew from the sacred records of Egypt.

"In another work on the Egyptian affairs," says Josephus, "Manethon informs us that these same Shepherds are called Captives in their own sacred books; in which assertion he is correct; for, as the feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in remote times, and they are rightly called Shepherds, as leading a nomadic life, so they were also not unaptly termed 'Captives,' since our ancestor Joseph declared to the Egyptian king that he was his captive, and afterwards sent for his brethren to him into Egypt, by the permission of the sovereign."

From this relation, which Josephus professes to cite *verbatim* from the works of Manethon, it is evident that the Egyptian historian considered the Shepherds as the Israelites; and though some of the circumstances he relates respecting them are fictitious, yet it may be supposed that others are founded on facts which Moses has passed over in silence. If we consider

the numbers of the Twelve Tribes when they quitted Egypt, after suffering so long from the cruel persecution of Pharoah, who caused all their male children to be drowned, and estimate their probable number before these calamities, it can scarcely be supposed that so great a multitude would submit to be enslaved without resistance; and if they met with a temporary success, they probably treated the Egyptians and their superstitions with no great degree of lenity. We have, indeed, no reason to suppose that the Israelites ever raised one of their own nation to the throne of Egypt; but while they lived apart in Goshen, which, as it will presently appear, was the district that is called Auaris, they probably had rulers of their own; and these rulers would naturally be considered by the Egyptians, who were ignorant of their manners, as kings. The kings of the Shepherds are not represented by Manethon as regular sovereigns of Egypt, but as exercising a tyrannical government over the country; while the native princes continued to reign in the Thebaid and other districts, and at length were able to combine their forces with sufficient strength to regain their authority, and to reduce the Shepherds to slavery or exile. The employment of the Shepherd kings in Auaris or Goshen, viz. the distribution of corn, is a curious circumstance; but the concluding part of the narrative, the compact for the departure from Egypt, their march through the wilderness, the vast number of the emigrant horde, and the foundation of the temple and city of Jerusalem, seem to prove beyond doubt that the Israelites are here described.

Besides the history of the invasion of the Shepherds in the reign of Timaus, and their expulsion in that of

Tethmosis, Manethon had interwoven in his work an account of a second conquest of Egypt by the same people, which he dates in the reign of Amenophis. This latter story is in many respects a repetition of the former. Josephus asserts, as if from Manethon's own confession, that the first is a genuine piece of history, derived from the ancient records, and that the second was adopted by the historian from some work of uncertain authority. We shall find reason to believe that this assertion is not without foundation. In the first place we shall find that this last story, connected by Manethon with the time of Amenophis, is referred by several other historians of the Ptolemaic age to the reigns of different kings, and that it is related with a great variety of circumstances. Secondly, the latter narative so nearly corresponds with the former in all the remarkable particulars, that it is easy to discover the two stories to be only different representations of the same occurrence. Every principal fact in the first account is repeated in the second, with the addition of some incidents evidently fabulous. As it is of great importance to elucidate this portion of Egyptian history, I shall translate from Josephus this second fragment of Manethon.

"This king Amenophis," says Manethon, "was desirous of being admitted to behold the gods, as Horus, one of his predecessors, had been; and he communicated this desire to the son of Papis, named also Amenophis; who was supposed, on account of his wisdom and knowledge of futurity, to partake of the divine nature. By the latter he was assured that his desire would be granted if he would cause the

whole country to be purified from lepers and polluted persons. The king, pleased with this information, caused all those who had any bodily infirmity to be collected from all parts of Egypt, to the number of eighty thousand men, and sent them to labour in the quarries, which are situated to the eastward of the Nile, in order that they might be separated from the remainder of the Egyptian people. It happened, however, that among the exiles there were some of the sacerdotal scribes, who were infected with the leprosy; and the prophet Amenophis, fearing lest the wrath of the gods might on this account fall upon himself and the king, uttered a prediction, that certain strangers should come to the aid of the polluted people, and should conquer Egypt, and keep it in subjection thirteen years. Not having courage to announce these calamities to the king, Amenophis slew himself, after committing his prophecy to writing." Manethon continues to relate that, " after the infected people had submitted a long time to the laborious works allotted to them in the quarries, they entreated the king to relieve them. The latter granted them permission to reside in the city of Auaris, which was then vacant, having been abandoned by the Shepherds. This town, according to the ancient mythology of Egypt, was one of the Typhonian cities. The lepers having entered the place, and finding that it afforded them facilities for a revolt, chose a priest of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, to be their ruler, and bound themselves by oath to obey all his commands. He ordained, in the first place, that they should neither worship the gods nor abstain from any of the animals which were regarded as sacred by

the Egyptians, but kill and eat all of them indifferently; and that they should form no connexions out their own community. Having enacted these laws, and many others, altogether contrary to the institutions of Egypt, he ordered them to fortify their city, and prepare for war against Amenophis, while he received into his party some other priests and polluted persons, and sent them as ambassadors to Jerusalem, to the Shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis. He informed these people of the circumstances of himself and his fellow-sufferers, and invited them to join and make a common invasion of Egypt. He undertook to conduct them into Auaris, the land of their forefathers, and to provide sustenance for the whole multitude of their people, and promised to fight for them if it should be needful, and speedily to give them possession of the country. The Shepherds accepted his proposal, and the whole nation joyfully set out on the expedition, being in number two hundred thousand men, and in a short time arrived at Auaris. Amenophis, the king of Egypt, when he heard of this invasion, was not a little alarmed, remembering the prediction of Amenophis, the son Papis." The historian then goes on to relate in detail, that the king fled with his army of Egyptians, taking with him Apis and the other sacred animals, into Ethiopia; and that the Shepherds *again gained* possession of all Egypt *without fighting a battle.* They are said to have again behaved with the utmost cruelty towards the native people, burning their villages, spoiling their temples, and roasting the sacred animals; for which impious purpose they kindled fires with the images of the gods, and even forced the priests

and prophets to assist them in these abominable deeds. Manethon informs us that the priest who thus acted the part of a lawgiver and general was a Heliopolitan, and was named Osarsiph, from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but that when he had gone over to the Shepherds he changed his name, and was thenceforward called Moses. The history relates further, that, after the predicted period of suffering had elapsed, the king of Egypt returned with an army from Ethiopia, and having defeated the Shepherds, together with the Lepers, expelled them from the country, and pursued them to the confines of Syria.

This second conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds is so completely, in all essential particulars, a copy of the first, that we may safely conclude the two relations to belong to the same event. The people were the same; in both cases they came from the west; in both relations they are said to have been the people of Jerusalem, and the nation who worshipped in the temple. In both instances their chief residence in Egypt was Auaris, which clearly appears to have been Goshen. On both occasions these foreigners are said to have overrun Egypt without a battle, and on both their success is imputed to the anger of the gods against the rulers and people of the country. On both occasions they were driven out of Egypt by an army from the south, and made their way through the wilderness to Palestine. In both these narratives circumstances are mentioned which cannot refer to any other event in history than the Exode of the Israelites.

Besides these fragments of Manethon, we have several accounts from other Egyptian authors, of the

Exode of the Israelites, which differ in some circumstances from the above, though they agree in most of the main points. Some of them coincide nearly with the first narrative of Manethon, others with the second. We shall make a brief abstract of them, before we proceed to the subject, on account of which especially we have entered into this detail.

The most remarkable of these stories is from Chæremon, who, though long subsequent to Manethon, was, like that annalist, a member of the hierarchy and an Egyptian sacred scribe. We are indebted to Josephus for the preservation of it.

Chæremon, like Manethon, refers this story to the reign of a king of Egypt named Amenophis. The following is a translation of the passage of this historian, preserved by Josephus.

"The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him that her temple lay in ruins, having been destroyed during the war." We are not informed to what war Chæremon alludes, but it is probably the same devastation of Egypt which Manethon records in the incursion of the Shepherds. "The king, however," he continues, "was assured by Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, that if he would purge the land of Egypt of all polluted persons, he should for the future be freed from such nightly terrors. The king hereupon caused the infected people, to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand persons, to be collected and driven out of the country. The leaders of this host were two scribes, named Moses and Joseph, the latter of whom was a sacred scribe: their Egyptian names were Tisithen and Peteseph. They proceeded to Pelusium,

and there found three hundred and eighty thousand people, who had been left by Amenophis, because that king was unwilling to introduce them into Egypt." These are evidently the Shepherds of Manethon, who dwelt in Auaris, or Goshen, apart from the Egyptians, and who are said, by that historian, to have given assistance to the expelled leprous people, under the guidance of Moses. "Having entered into a league with these people, they invaded Egypt; and Amenophis, without sustaining their attack, fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant. She concealed herself in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messenes; and who, when he became adult, drove the Jews into Syria, in number about two hundred thousand men, and received back his father Amenophis, who returned from Ethiopia."

In this story as related by Chæremon, as well as in that of Manethon, we distinguish two classes of people, who are said to have formed the host of Moses; first, the natives of Egypt, infected with leprosy; and secondly, the Shepherds, inhabitants of Auaris, or Goshen, who are described by Manethon as a foreign people, from Judæa or Arabia. These Shepherds are evidently the genuine Israelites; the native Egyptians, who accompanied the host of Israel, must have been a very inconsiderable number.

A third story, of a similar kind, has been extracted by Josephus from the works of Lysimachus, who referred it to the age of Bocchoris. In his reign the Jews, being infected with leprosy, itch, and other filthy diseases, took refuge in the temples, and became mendicants. Many people, at that time, being

infected with disease, a famine arose in the land of Egypt; whereupon Bocchoris, the king, sent persons to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The god replied, that the king must purge his temples of unholy and impious men, and drive them into desert places, and drown the lepers and diseased persons, the Sun being indignant that such wretches were suffered to live; that he must purify the temples, and that the earth would then bring forth its fruits." It is added, that the king obeyed, and caused the lepers to be drowned, and the impious or irreligious to be driven into the desert; who accordingly assembled, and having propitiated the gods, and kindling fires in the wilderness and keeping watch, put themselves under the command of one Moses, who undertook to conduct them into an inhabited country; and finally brought them to Judæa, where they built a city, which they called Jerusalem.

Apollonius Molo was the author of another account of the Exode, which he has connected with circumstances equally absurd and fabulous. He says that it happened in the age of Dido, and in the very year in which Carthage was built by the Phœnicians. The statement of this writer coincides, as it seems, in some particulars, with that of Lysimachus.

Tacitus has given a brief summary of the various stories prevalent in his time respecting the history of the Jews. Together with several fables he mentions the true statement, that they were originally emigrants from Assyria, who had obtained possession of a part of Egypt, and afterwards removed to Palestine and the Hebrew countries; but he gives preference to a relation in which he says most authors

agree, and which is almost a repetition of the story of Lysimachus. In the reign of Bocchoris a filthy disease broke out in Egypt, and the oracle of Ammon, being consulted on the occasion, commanded the king to purify the land by driving out the Jews, a race of men who were hateful to the gods. The whole multitude of these people were accordingly collected and driven out into the wilderness, where they were reduced to the greatest extremities for want of water, until one of their number, named Moses, who had more courage than the rest, happened, by following a troop of wild asses, to light on a plentiful spring of water. The crowd of exiles, being thus refreshed, performed their journey through the desert; and, arriving on the seventh day in Palestine, gained possession of the country, where they built the city and temple of Jerusalem. He adds, that the Jews always held the seventh day as sacred, because in seven days they had completed their perilous journey; that they abstained from swine's flesh from the recollection of the calamities they had suffered on account of the disease to which that animal is subject; and that they continued to worship the figure of an ass out of gratitude for their deliverance in the wilderness. This fable was very prevalent among the Greeks. The image of an ass, or of an ass's head, was supposed to be the great object of adoration in the temple of Jerusalem.

The first of these stories recorded by Tacitus is evidently the same as Manethon's first invasion of the Shepherds. The second, which the author prefers because most writers agreed in it, coincides with the second invasion of Manethon, and with that of

Chæremon. We may remark that Tacitus explicitly refers both these traditions to the Jewish nation.

Photius, in his Bibliotheca, has preserved a fragment of the thirty-fifth book of Diodorus Siculus, referring to the Exode of the Hebrews. He says that "in ancient times Egypt was afflicted with a great plague, which was attributed to the anger of God, on account of the multitude of foreigners in Egypt, by whom the rites of the native religion were neglected. The Egyptians accordingly drove them out. The most noble of them went under Cadmus and Danaus to Greece; but the greater number followed Moses, a wise and valiant leader to Palestine. Moses conquered the country, built Jerusalem, and instituted excellent laws and a pure religion."

It is evident, from the great variations in time and circumstances, that none of these stories deserve any credit in opposition to the account the Jewish writers have given of the history of their nation. They all appear to have been inventions of a comparatively late period, founded on vague accounts, which remained in Egypt, of the departure of the Israelites; but they incidentally afford confirmation of most of the facts mentioned in Exodus. Manethon's history of Osarsiph is the least incongruous, although that relation contains, as Josephus has shown, many absurdities. This, however, appears certain, that very vague ideas prevailed of the era to which these events belonged; for we see that some authors refer them to the reign of Amenophis, and others to that of Bocchoris. There were several kings named Amenophis, but the prince whom Manethon fixes upon lived, according to his own statement, about

sixty years before the Trojan war. Bocchoris immediately preceded Sabbaco, the Ethiopian, who was contemporary with Hosea, the last king of the ten tribes of Israel.

As the ideas of these writers are so vague and contradictory, respecting the era of this last migration, we may conclude that they adopted uncertain traditions, and referred them by conjecture to whatever time in the Egyptian history appeared to them most probable; Manethon and Chæremon, however, agree in the name of the king who pursued Moses towards the desert. It is therefore probable that Amenophis was his real name; but I shall venture to suppose that Manethon committed an error in fixing on the Amenophis who stands in the third place of the nineteenth dynasty, instead of the third in the eighteenth. I found this opinion chiefly on two considerations.

1. It seems manifest that the two relations given by Manethon of the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds, refer to one and the same event. Now the retreat of the shepherds is indissolubly connected with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. We can therefore have nothing to do with a prince of the nineteenth. It was Tethmosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, who besieged the shepherds in Auaris. But the first Amenophis is separated from Tethmosis, by an interval of only thirteen years. Transactions begun in the one reign may therefore have been completed in the other. On this ground I conclude that Amenophis the first was the king who pursued the Shepherds under Osarsiph.

Secondly, without assuming that the first and

second relation belongs to the same event, from their coincidence of circumstances, let us consider the result of a comparison of dates.

The Exode, or the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, has been differently dated by chronologers. According to that computation, which appears to be the best supported by the dates of scriptural history, five hundred and ninety-two years intervened between this event and the era of the foundation of Solomon's Temple. This is the computation of Josephus, and it seems to have been adopted by St. Paul: it is preferred by Michaëlis, and other learned writers among the moderns.* Let us now ascertain the era of the Exode, on these premises.

We have dated the building of the Temple in the year	1027 B. C.
Add for the interval above mentioned	592
We find the date of the Exode in	1619 B. C.

Reverting now to the chronicles of the Egyptians, we find the accession of the eighteenth dynasty dated as follows.

The nineteenth dynasty obtained the sceptre of Egypt as before computed in the year	1350
The collective reigns of the princes of the eighteenth dynasty amount to	328 11 mo.
Therefore the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, falls in	1678 11 mo.

* Refer to Note B.

and Tethmosis, the first king, began to reign about fifty years before the Exode.

If we now proceed to a more minute examination, we shall find that Tethmosis must have been the king of Egypt who persecuted the Hebrews in the early years of Moses, and during whose reign the future lawgiver of Israel sought refuge in the deserts of Midian. His predecessor was the Pharaoh, sprung from a new dynasty, who knew not Joseph, and sought to diminish the numbers of the Israelites. This, at least, is the result of a comparison of dates. If we further deduct from the above sum of 1678 years and 11 months, 58 years and 11 months, which is the amount of the three first reigns, we shall find that the death of Amenophis the first falls in the year 1620, B.C. which is within one year of the time when, according to the scriptural chronology, Pharaoh and his host were drowned in the Red Sea. This is a striking coincidence, and far more exact than we could reasonably expect.

Such is the result of a careful analysis of the chronology of Manethon in this part of his work. We have some other historical testimonies which lead to a similar conclusion. The only circumstance that lessens the weight of their authority is, that we know not whence the writers we refer to derived their information: but, as many sources of knowledge were open to them which have been long since for ever closed, we are not entitled to reject the testimonies of these chronologers, especially as they agree among themselves, and we have no ground on which we can rest an objection against them.

1. Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus have

preserved a long passage from Artabanus, containing the history of the Jews in Egypt, and of their departure under Moses, and mentioning the names of several persons, and many circumstances connected with the transactions of those times, of which we hear nothing from any other quarter.* According to Artabanus, the Egyptian king who treated Israel with cruelty was called Palmanōthes. This seems to be another way of expressing in Greek letters the Egyptian name of Amenōphes, or, as it may be written with the Coptic article, Ph'Amenōphes.

This Prince, according to Artabanus, built Kessan, or Goshen, and the temple of Heliopolis. His daughter was married to Chenephren,† king of a district in Upper Egypt; "for at that time," as Artabanus says, "Egypt was divided into several petty kingdoms, over which, however, the king of Memphis seems to have held the chief sovereignty. The name of this princess was Merrhis: being childless, she adopted a young Israelite, who was named Moÿses, or Musæus. The historian then relates that Moses was appointed to command an army against the Ethiopians, and performed many celebrated exploits, which are of a very different description from those recorded in the Pentateuch.

In Manethon's list of kings of the eighteenth dynasty, we have all these names somewhat differently

* Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 27. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i.

‡ Chenephren is his name in Eusebius. Clemens calls him Nechephres, and the Alexandrine chronicle, which likewise copies Artabanus, gives his name Chenebron.

written; Palmanothes, is Ph'Amenophes. Merrhis seems to be the queen Amersis, who reigned next to Amenophis: next to Amersis, Josephus had set down the name of Mephris; but Eusebius regarded this as the same with Amersis. Now Mephris, Mersis, or Merrhis, are very slight variations, in the attempt to represent in greek letters an Egyptian female name; the aspirate consonants being continually interchanged. Chenebron, or Chenephren, is perhaps the same king who occurs in Manethon's list, under the name of Chebron, immediately before Amenophis.

These coincidences afford some additional reason to believe that the Amenophes who pursued Moses was the third king of the eighteenth dynasty.

2. All the old chronologers refer the Exode of the Israelites to the same epoch, viz. the commencement of the reign of the eighteenth dynasty. They speak, indeed, of these transactions as if the calamities of the Hebrews had commenced and terminated under Tethmosis, or Amosis; but the reign of this king is too short for the whole series of events. If Tethmosis was the monarch in whose time Moses was driven from Egypt, or obliged to take refuge in Arabia, the reign of Amenophis will fall in with the Exode. Probably Tethmosis carried on war against the Israelites, and subdued them, as Manethon relates. For it cannot be supposed that a nation of such power and multitude would submit, without some attempt at resistance, to the most dreadful slavery. Many of them probably took flight, and the remainder were sent, as Manethon says, to labour in the quarries on the Eastern frontier. Afterwards, on the return of Moses from the land of Midian, these same

Hebrew, or Arabian shepherds, now reduced to a state of slavery, became the occasion of numerous calamities to Egypt and the house of Pharaoh, as related in the book of Exodus. Hence the double narrative contained in the works of Manethon. Tethmosis was the king who conquered the shepherds. He seems to have been the Pharaoh who reduced the number and power of the Israelites, and from whom Moses fled. If this was the case, and the table of Manethon is correct, Amenophis the first must have been the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea.

Eusebius has given us a long extract from the chronography of Julius Africanus, in which that learned writer has cited several authorities, tending to prove that Moses was contemporary with Amosis, or Tethmosis.* The following are the authors whose testimony he has adduced.

Apion the grammarian, surnamed Pleistonices, who was a native Egyptian, asserted in the fourth book of his history, and in his book against the Jews, that the Egyptian king Amosis took and destroyed Avaris, or Athyria, in the time of Inachus, king of Argos, and that in his reign Moses and the Hebrews were driven out of Egypt. Theophilus of Antioch, the chronologer, agreed in the same computation.

Ptolemy, the priest of Mendes, was quoted by Apion in proof of this statement. Ptolemy wrote a history of the exploits of the Egyptian kings, in three books. In the third of these he recited the events that happened in the reign of Amosis, and mentioned the Exode.

* Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. x. cap. 11.

Africanus, in the passage above alluded to, cites also Polemo, who, in his first book on the Grecian history, related that in the time of Apis, king of Argos, son of Phoroneus, a part of the military population of Egypt emigrated from that country, and settled in the Syrian Palestine, not far from Arabia. "He refers," says Eusebius, to those who were led by Moses." Herodotus also calls the Jews, Syrians of Palestine, and says, that they were emigrants from Egypt. The age of Inachus and Phoroneus was calculated by Tatian and Eusebius to have been about sixteen reigns, or rather more than 400 years before the Trojan war.* Inachus was considered by all these writers as contemporary with Tethmosis.

From all these authorities and concurring circumstances it seems to be ascertained, as far as we can expect any question referring to so remote a period, and in so obscure a history, to be decided, that the Shepherds, who were expelled from Egypt by the first princes of the eighteenth dynasty, were the Israelites, who were led by Moses into Canaan. Manethon, who related their history so circumstantially, certainly considered the Shepherds as identical with the

* These reigns are termed generations, but many of them were in fact collateral successions. They are thus enumerated by Tatian.

1. Inachus
2. Phoroneus
3. Apis
4. Argius
5. Criasus
6. Phorbas
5. Triopus
6. Critopus
7. Sthenelaus
8. Danaus
9. Lynceus
10. Abas.
11. Prætus
12. Acrisius
13. Perseus
14. Eurystheus
15. Atreus
16. Thyestes
17. Agamemnon

Hebrews; for he mentions that they retired from Egypt by treaty, and built Jerusalem and the temple: and although in the subsequent part of his history he adopted the popular story, which represented the Jews as decended in part from Egyptian outcasts; yet he considered the history of these as so interwoven with that of the Shepherds, that he found himself driven to the expedient of bringing that people again from Jerusalem to Goshen, and relating over again their invasion of Egypt, and their subsequent expulsion from it, with almost the same circumstances which occurred in the first narrative of their descent from Arabia or Palestine. Chæremon also, and Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, from some of whom Diodorus and Tacitus drew their information, by combining the circumstances of these two relations, and referring them both to the history of the Jews, seem to leave no room for further doubt, that the Shepherds who built Jerusalem were, contrary to the opinion of modern chronologers, the same people who were led through the wilderness by Moses.

SECTION VI.

Of the first Seventeen Dynasties in the Chronicle of Manethon.

We now proceed to the chronology of the earlier dynasties in the chronicle of Manethon. We shall consider it as proved, by the foregoing observations, that the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, with the reigns of Tethmosis and Amenophis, was coëval with the history of Moses and the Exode of the Israelites from Egypt.

Thus far the chronology of Manethon coincides almost exactly with that of the Hebrew historians. In the ages which precede we have no opportunity of comparing them, as we here derive no information from the scriptures respecting the affairs of Egypt. It must, however, be allowed that so far as we have yet followed him, Manethon has approved himself a tolerably faithful guide. In tracing his history of Egypt up to the fifteenth century before the Christian era, we have discovered no symptom of a design to extend beyond just limits the antiquity of his native country. He, therefore, deserves more consideration than he has commonly obtained, when we come to examine those parts of his narrative which lie beyond the reach of a comparison with the history of other nations.

If we allow that Amenophis was the Pharaoh

who perished in the pursuit of Israel, and fix the end of his reign in the year before Christ 1619, and cast up in one direct line the reigns of the first kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and the whole sum of the collective reigns of the preceding seventeen dynasties, up to Menes the first king, we shall date the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy at a very remote period.

We shall observe how far this method of computing will lead us.

The fragment of Manethon's chronicle, preserved by Josephus, is so much more perfect, as far as it extends, than either of the abstracts copied by Syncellus, that we shall regard it as containing the genuine numbers of Manethon, and shall not take the trouble to compare the dates of Eusebius and Africanus.

The three first kings of the eighteenth dynasty, including Amenophis, reigned fifty-eight years and eleven months, which we shall call 59 years.

The whole time that elapsed from the invasion of the Shepherds, until they abandoned Egypt, is stated by Manethon, according to the extract preserved by Josephus, to have been 511 years. From this number we must subtract the above sum of 59 years, and add the remainder to 1619, the date of the Exode, and we shall obtain the sum of 2071 years before Christ, for the date of the era when the Shepherds made their first entry into Egypt.

Manethon observes that there were several dynasties of Shepherds, and Africanus mentions three, viz. the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties, as consisting of Shepherd kings. The beginning of the fifteenth dynasty is, therefore, the commencement of

the reign of the shepherds, and is to be dated at 2071 years before Christ.

The whole sum obtained by adding the collective reigns of the first fourteen dynasties, is, according to Africanus, two thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, and according to Eusebius, two thousand nine hundred and seventy-two.* If we add these sums to the date before obtained, viz. two thousand and seventy-one, we shall find the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy to fall four thousand seven hundred and ninety-two years before Christ, according to the former, and five thousand and forty-three according to the latter. This is on the supposition that all these dynasties succeeded each other in a direct line.

Various attempts have been made to reconcile the chronology of Manethon with that of Moses. Perizonius allows the Egyptian annalist to be correct, through the later half of the chronicle; but not knowing what to do with the first fifteen dynasties, he boldly erases them at once, and declares them to be a forgery of the author.† This way of proceeding is more like cutting the Gordian knot than untying it. We have no right to act in so summary a manner. If we cannot reconcile the antiquity assumed by the annals of one nation with the dates assigned for the

* We must here remark that the fourteenth dynasty is wanting in the series of Africanus, and the fifth in that of Eusebius. In order to make up the sums total, we have supplied the chasm in each, by taking the term of years assigned to the defective dynasty in the other list.

† Perizonius has been followed by several later authors, particularly by Dr. Hales.

origin of empires and of the world in the records of the other, we have no other course to pursue than to acknowledge the contradiction between them. We may have good reasons for placing confidence in one record rather than the other, but we have no right to cut off from the archives of Egypt all that extends too far, as if we were shortening the limbs of Procrustes, and then pretend that we have reconciled them with the computation of the Hebrew scriptures.

But, though we ought to abstain from new modelling the Egyptian antiquities, after the pattern of the Hebrew, no objection can be made to our comparing all the documents we possess that relate to the chronology of Egypt, and endeavouring to find some method of reconciling them with themselves. We are only bound, while proceeding in this attempt, to exclnde all prejudice in favour of those particular methods that lead to conclusions which we are from other considerations inclined to adopt.

The three principal documents on which we must depend for information, respecting the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, are the table of Manethon now under consideration, the list of thirty dynasties entitled by Syncellus the Old Chronicle, which seems to have been extracted from ancient historical works included in the number of the Hermaic books, and the series of Theban kings by Eratosthenes. These relics bear a near relation to each other; they are all professedly derived from the same or correlative sources, viz. the sacred records kept in the Egyptian temples. Manethon is believed by Syncellus, to have formed his work on the model of the Old Chronicle, as a kind of supplement to it, or

exposition of it: his plan, at least, or outline, is the same; and that Eratosthenes obtained his materials from documents not entirely unconnected with these is evident, from the names and reigns of the two first kings, Menes and Athothes, which are the same in his list as in that of Manethon. As these documents are thus connected, it is to them that we must look for their mutual illustration. The tables taken from Herodotus and Diodorus, in the early part of the Egyptian history, contain only a few names, with chasms of prodigious extent between them, and are, for reasons before assigned, less worthy of regard in this instance than those which have been preserved by professed chronologers. Let us now observe what are the dates assigned for the commencement of the first dynasty, that is, for the accession of Menes, by the Old Chronicle.

The dates of the first seventeen dynasties, according to the Old Chronicle, are as follows:

	Years.
The 17th dynasty reigned	103
The 16th dynasty reigned	190
The fifteen generations of the Cynic circle, which correspond with the first fifteen dynasties of Manethon, reigned	443
Total,	736

Now the accession of the eighteenth dynasty took place, as we have shown, fifty-nine years before the Exode. $59 + 736 = 795$, added to 1619, the date of the Exode, will give us 2414 B. C. as the beginning of the reign of Menes, and of the first dynasty.

This date we are inclined to look upon as near the true era of the commencement of the monarchy.

It must be allowed that the series of Theban kings, according to Eratosthenes, as the years were computed by Syncellus, assigns a period more remote, by about two hundred and fifty years, for the reign of Menes. This difference may be diminished on the supposition made long ago by Goar, the learned editor of Syncellus, that the one hundred and seventy-eight years, which are wanting in the numbers of the Old Chronicle, in order to fill up the sum total, and which have been dropped through the carelessness of some copyist, belonged to the reign of the Cynic circle. If we add this number to the period above mentioned, the date of the reign of Menes in the Old Chronicle and the Register of Eratosthenes, will differ only sixty-nine years. But on this subject we shall find hereafter more satisfactory evidence. Our present business is to inquire how the chronology of Manethon can be made to agree with either of these documents.

The only method of reducing it, so as to bring out any degree of correspondence with the shorter computation, is on the supposition that the dynasties were not all successive in one direct line, but that some of them were contemporary. But we have no right to assume this point without proof.

We may, however, observe that the native dynasties of Egyptian kings seem to have continued to reign while Egypt was under the yoke or subjected to the influence and the inroads of the Shepherds.

This appears evident from the narrative of Manethon; for that historian informs us that after Egypt had suffered dreadfully from the cruelties of the Shepherds, the kings of the Thebaid and of other parts of Egypt revolted against them, and under the command of Tethmosis subdued them. Here we find that the native kings had continued to rule, if not in Memphis, at least in the more distant provinces of Egypt, during the reign of the Shepherds.*

Other circumstances in the history lead us to the same inference. The beginning of the reign of the Shepherds is dated by Manethon at 511 years before their final expulsion and departure for Judæa, that is, at 511 years before the Exode. Now if this computation be only correct in a tolerable degree, the history of Abraham's journey to Egypt, as well as that of Joseph, will fall within the period of the Shepherds' tyranny.† From the account which we have in Genesis, of the journey of Abraham into Egypt, it is evident that the country was then in a state that subjected it to nomadic incursions, otherwise the patriarch could not have passed through it with his horde, like a tribe of Arabs, to the court of

* The Shepherds are represented as having oppressed the country, and reduced the people to great extremites; but it appears that they did not destroy the native governments. Their chief residence was not at Diospolis, then the capital, but at Auaris or Goshen, where they employed themselves, as we are told, in collecting the revenues of the land, and distributing corn; an allusion to the history of Joseph.

† This must be allowed from considering the dates merely, though it should not be agreed that the departure of the Shepherds was the same event as the Exode of the Israelites.

Pharaoh. Many facts indicate that some great movement was going on about that time among the nations of the Syrian or Assyrian family; that they were now quitting their abode, perhaps further in the East, and pouring into the West. The earliest of these incursions must, if we believe the chronology of Manethon, already have opened Egypt, before Abraham's time, to the inroads of nomadic people. It was probably at this period that the Semitic tribes occupied all the countries to the eastward of Egypt.

Nor do these suppositions contradict the contents of the last section, in which I have endeavoured to prove that the Shepherds, said to have been overthrown by Tethmosis and Amenophis, were in reality the people that followed Moses towards Palestine. Manethon assures us that several dynasties or families of shepherds held Egypt under their sway or influence. The Hebrews were one of them, and their history was so remarkable, and the events that brought about their deliverance so calamitous to Egypt, that it is no wonder that we find their departure recorded as so signal an event. Probably the descendants of the earlier nomades, were dispersed over Abyssinia. We may thus account for the wide diffusion of the Geez and Amharic languages, which are of the Syrian, Arabic, or Hebraic stock. Thus also we may explain the near resemblance of the Abyssins to the Israelites, an affinity greater than we can account for by the relationship of both to the Arabs. That inroads were made at this epoch into Ethiopia we learn from Josephus, who gives an account of an army dispatched by the king of Egypt against Meröe.

These ideas, however, I throw out as matter of conjecture. All that I insist upon is, that the inroads or domination of the shepherds must have commenced before the time of Joseph; since, whatever method we adopt of arranging the series of dynasties, the age of this patriarch must fall between the beginning and termination of the five hundred and eleven years. Now it is evident, from the history of Joseph, that at the time when he held an office, similar to that of a Grand Vizier, in the court of Egypt, a native race of Pharaohs sat upon the throne, and the ancient customs and indigenous polity were maintained in the country. Shepherds, that is, killers of sheep, those who slaughtered the representatives or the kindred of their god Ammon, were an abomination to the Egyptians. We may infer that at this time, which is within the long period assigned to the sway of the nomadic kings, the native line of princes continued to reign, at least over that part of Egypt where Joseph resided.

Since it appears, both from the history of this period, as it is given by Manethon, and from the facts recorded in Genesis, that the native princes of Egypt continued to reign during the domination of the shepherds, we are at liberty to suppose that the dynasties of Memphite and Diospolite kings, which are mentioned in the list of Manethon, before and after the shepherd dynasties, were intended to form a continued succession, reaching down through that period of five hundred and eleven years, during which the shepherds ruled. This enables us to deduct these five hundred and eleven years from the long chronology of Manethon, or to leave it out of our reckoning;

and thus we make one step towards reducing the dates of that historian to an agreement with those of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes.

But, after this reduction, the period that yet remains for the earliest dynasties is by far too great. It exceeds the computation of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes, by many centuries.

The expedient of which modern chronologers have generally availed themselves, in order to reconcile the chronicle of Manethon with the shorter periods allowed by other historians, is the scheme proposed by Sir John Marsham, who conjectured that Egypt, in the earliest ages, was divided into several distinct kingdoms, and that the Chronicle contains several different successions of kings; that the dynasties of Diospolites, for example, gives a series of princes who ruled over the Thebaid, and were coëval with the other dynasties of Memphites, Elephantinites, and Thinites. In this way of understanding it, this chronicle may be reduced so as to quadrate even with a lower computation of antiquity than that of Eratosthenes.

But the hypothesis that Egypt was ever divided into several independent kingdoms is entirely a gratuitous conjecture, and is contradicted by the whole tenour of Egyptian history. The kings of Egypt are frequently mentioned in the scriptural history under the title of Pharaoh; but we never find that there was more than one Pharaoh at a time. If such had been the condition of the country, some trace of it could scarcely fail to be shown in the Hebrew histories, considering how intimately connected the affairs of the Israelites were on several

occasions with those of the Egyptians. Neither can any fact be produced from the writings of Greek authors, who treat of Egypt, that favours such an opinion. Homer mentions a king of Egypt who reigned at Diospolis; yet his dominion extended down to the sea-coast. Herodotus and Diodorus give testimony directly against the conjecture of Marsham.

It will however be found, unless I am much mistaken, on an attentive scrutiny of these tables, that although there is no historical ground for Marsham's conjecture respecting the division of Egypt into independent monarchies, yet there are facts connected with the construction of the Chronicle which lead to nearly similar conclusions, as far as the chronological system is concerned.

I shall now mention my own opinion on this subject, and the internal evidence on which it is founded. I was led to it, not by the conjecture of any chronologer, but by some circumstances which attracted my attention in the Chronicle itself.

Manethon and Eratosthenes derived their information from the sacred registers deposited in the Egyptian temples. It would seem that records were kept in the temples in several different nomes or provinces of that kingdom: some at Memphis, some at Diospolis, and others elsewhere. Of these it appears that the historians availed themselves. Here is an obvious source of discrepancy in documents compiled by writers whose materials were drawn from different quarters. Many causes might give rise to differences in the registers, for example, kept at Memphis, and at Diospolis, or Elephantine. The former of these cities was

taken possession of by the Shepherds, and remained some time subject to their yoke; the latter was occasionally under the sway of the Ethiopians. Hence real and considerable variations might arise in the succession of kings at such distant places. Occasionally it might happen, as it occurs sometimes in all eastern countries, that prefects and provincial governors would revolt and assume independent sway, and maintain for a time their authority. Nothing is more probable than that such petty rulers would inscribe their own names on the records of the monarchy, in the place of their superiors. The lists of nomarchs might become confounded with those of the kings. Even in the names of the kings themselves variations would not fail occasionally to happen, owing to the imperfection of alphabetic writing and orthography in very remote periods, to the difference of dialects in distant provinces, the multiplicity of names given to the sovereigns, and still more to the substitution of magnificent titles and epithets in the place of proper appellatives; a practice to which the adulation of the oriental people frequently gives occasion. Circumstances of this nature, and others which need not be enumerated, must be supposed to have produced great diversity in the chronological registers kept during the same period in different districts; so that although Memphis and Diospolis were in general subject to the monarch of all Egypt, yet the series of kings, as exhibited in the registers at Thebes, might differ materially from that of the Memphite records.

Manethon seems, as Syncellus has remarked, to have had before him the Old Chronicle when he undertook the compilation of his table, and to have adjusted his

plan according to that model. This chronicle professedly contains thirty dynasties; but the first half of this number consists of fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle. Manethon seems to have considered this, as modern chronologers have done, as a sort of chasm or imperfection in the series; and, with a view of supplying the deficiency, he filled up the first fifteen places with dynasties under similar titles to those which are comprised in the remainder of the table, and which nearly correspond as in the Old Chronicle and in his own. In order to obtain materials to supply these fifteen lists, he collected the old records from different Egyptian nomes, and formed dynasties of Memphite kings from the registers of Memphis, and of Diospolitan from the sacred records of Thebes. In general, it is to be presumed that he procured the oldest documents, and that the earliest dynasties consist, for the most part, of tables of kings who reigned in Egypt before the invasion of the Shepherds; but there are, as we shall find, exceptions to this remark.

That the first fifteen dynasties were constructed in this manner may be proved, as it appears to me, from internal evidence.

The Thinite dynasties, for example, present some singular coincidences with those of Elephantine. The Thinite kings begin with Menes. They reigned in Upper Egypt, for there was the seat of government in the earliest times. The series of princes of Elephantine is therefore likely to coincide nearly with the Thinites, as the registers were kept at no great distance, and few diversities could arise in the order of sovereign rulers. Now, of the nine Elephantinite kings, the five first names correspond so nearly with the last of the Thinites, that if some allowance is made for

such mistakes in orthography as may have happened in representing Egyptian or Coptic names in Greek letters, it will appear that both these tables refer to the same succession.

Thinite Kings.	*Elephantinite Kings.*
Chæres	*Ouser-Cheres
* * *	Sephres
Nephercheres	Nephercheres
Sĕsŏchris	Sisiris
Chenĕres	Cheres.

But a more distinct example of this repetition is afforded by the comparison of the twelfth dynasty of Diospolites, which holds its place in the former part of the Chronicle, with the nineteenth dynasty, who are also termed Diospolites, in the latter part. The coincidence in this case consists not merely in names, but is borne out by a repetition of historical facts.

XII. *Dynasty.*	XVIII. *and* XIX. *Dynasties.*
2d king, Ammenemes	Amenophis
3d —— Sesostris	Sethosis
4th —— Lachares	Rhapses
5th —— Ammeres	Ammenephthes, or Amenophis
6th —— Ammenemes	Ammenemmes

The comparison of names alone would be sufficient to excite a suspicion, but we are not left in this state of uncertainty. For, in the fragment of Manethon preserved by Josephus, we have an account of the exploits of Sethosis, which, compared with the history of Sesostris given by Herodotus and Diodorus, and

* Ouser is an Egyptian title prefixed to various proper names, as Osarsiph.

the brief notices of Africanus and Eusebius, leave no doubt that they were the same person. Sethosis was the conqueror who marched through the East, and who, on his return to Egypt, suffered from the treachery of his brother. In short, in every circumstance his story agrees with that of Sesostris;* and several considerations unite in proving that the nineteenth dynasty was the true place in chronology for this celebrated warrior. Yet, on turning back to the twelfth dynasty, we find the name of Sesostris, in somewhat suspicious company, as we have above remarked, and not only the name, but the exploits of Sesostris connected with it, as if they were set down for the express purpose of convicting Manethon of inaccuracy in his compilation. It is here evident that the historian, in order to fill up his twelfth dynasty, has extracted from some record containing another copy of the same piece of chronology, which had served for the foundation of the later series, where the history of Sesostris occurs in its proper place.

We shall subject our hypothesis to one further test, which may perhaps afford a proof that will be satisfactory to most of our readers. In the earliest part of Manethon's chronicle, the 3d, 4th, and 6th dynasties consist of Memphite kings. Fortunately these three dynasties have been preserved in a more complete state than most other parts of the Chronicle. They seem, from their place in the series, to have been copied from the oldest records of Memphis. They are the first Memphite dynasties mentioned in the Chronicle, and may be supposed to contain a table of the kings who reigned in that

* It is allowed by all that Sethos, or Sethosis, was Sesostris.

city from its foundation. These dynasties afford us an unbroken series of twenty-three kings. Let us suppose that it commences from the foundation of monarchy in Egypt. On that hypothesis we may expect to trace some relation between it and the table of Eratosthenes, which we imagine to contain a coëval series, and perhaps a record of the same succession; one list having been copied from the registers in the temples of Memphis, and the other from those in Diospolis.

Now, it happens that the last of these twenty-three monarchs of Memphis is a queen, and there are only two other queens in the whole thirty dynasties. Her name is Nitocris. It is remarkable also that the twenty-second monarch in the Theban list of Eratosthenes is a queen named Nitocris. Herodotus also mentions Nitocris as a celebrated queen; and, from the manner in which he speaks of her, it is plain that he had heard of but one Egyptian sovereign of that name. We may take it as nearly certain, that the Nitocris who stands in the twenty-third place in the series of Memphite princes, is the same person who occurs in the twenty-second, among the sovereigns of Thebes. What still further supports our conjecture is the coincidence in time; for the twenty-two Memphite princes preceding Nitocris reigned, according to Manethon, in all, 691 years; and, by adding up the Theban reigns that precede the same name in the laterculus of Eratosthenes, we obtain 687, which is within four years of the same period.

We shall now set down the twenty-three names of Memphite sovereigns opposite to the twenty-two of Thebans, and observe what relations the two lists present

Theban List of Eratosthenes.	Years.		*First Memphite Dynasties of Manethon.*
Menes, or Mines Thebinitus			Necherophis
Athothes			Tosorthros or Æsculapius
Athothes 2			Tyris
Diabies	19	17	....Mesochris
Semphos, or Som-Phos ..	18	16	.... Soiphis
Toigar 79	85	61	... Taser-tasis 19
St-Oichos 6			... Achis 42
Gosormies	30	30	.... Siphouris
Mares	26	26	.... Ker-pheres
Anoyphes	20		
SIRIOS, or SIROES	18	29	.... SORIS
Chnoubos Gneuros ..27	50	47	... *Rhat-oises*
Rau-osis 13			... *Bi-cheres*
Bi-uris, or Biyris ..10			
SAOPHIS	29	63	.... SOUPHIS
SAOPHIS the 2d.....	37	66	.... SOUPHIS the 2d
Mos-CHERIS.....	21	63	.... Men-CHERES
			* *Rhatoises* 25
			Bicheres..... 22
		8	.... Seber-cheres
		9	.... Thamphthis
Mousthis 33	68	—	.... Othoes
Pammos 35		53	.... Phios
		7	.... Methousouphis
Apappos 100		100	.... Phi-ops
Achescus Ocaras	1	1	.... Mentesouphis
Nitocris	6	12	.... Nitocris
	687	691	

* Rhatoises and Bicheres stand next to Mencheres, in the table of Eratosthenes.

It must be confessed that there are many names standing opposite to each other, in these two tables, which have no resemblance. In these instances we suppose that the names of nomarchs or provincial governors have been inserted in the list instead of the sovereigns of Egypt, or that temporary dismemberments of the monarchy had taken place. Sometimes, however, though the names differ, the periods of the reigns exactly coincide. Here we may presume that the multiplicity of titles or epithets assumed by eastern sovereigns, and frequently adopted, as we well know, by the kings of Egypts, have given rise to the diversity. All this, it is true, is a mere hypothesis; but we assume nothing more than what the circumstances of the case, on the supposition maintained, must have given rise to. We rest the whole weight of proof in the present instance on the coincidences between the two successions above collated, which we shall now more distinctly point out.

1. The reign of Nitocris is set down differently in the two tables. She probably reigned longer at Thebes than in Lower Egypt. She was an Ethiopian, and Thebes was nearer to her native country than Memphis. She might be enabled to maintain her government at Thebes after the cruelties which are ascribed to her had caused her expulsion from Lower Egypt.

If the Theban Nitocris were not the same person as the Memphite, it would be unaccountable that the two reigns preceding her name should have precisely the same duration in both successions, especially as the terms of each are very singular ones. The reign immediately preceding Nitocris is only one year, and

the reign before that is in both the tables 100 years. There is only one king in the whole chronicle of Manethon who reigned 100 years, and only one in the laterculus of Eratosthenes, and in each it is assigned to the last predecessor but one of Nitocris. The chances against such a coincidence, as a matter of accident, are more than a thousand to one; and we have a proof, strong in the same proportion, that this name in both the records designates the same person.

The names given to the king who reigned 100 years are not very unlike; nor does it require much etymological torturing to show that they may have sprung from the same Egyptian original. Apappos has a Greek termination, and has evidently undergone some modification. It seems, as Jablonski observed without entertaining the least idea of this comparison, to be the same word which the Greek mythologists wrote Epaphus, the old Argive title of the bull Apis. The Coptic or Egyptian articles are sometimes placed, as every one knows, at the beginnings, sometimes at the endings, of words; and this variation constitutes all the difference between Apa-phi or Epa-phi, which by a Greek writer would be expressed Epaphos or Apappos, and Phi-Apa, whence the Memphite name Phiops.

In the two preceding names in the Theban list I see no resemblance to the three Memphite names which stand opposite to them, unless Mousthis may be a contraction of Methousouphis. If this be the fact, two of the Memphite names must have been accidentally transposed.

I am, however, strongly inclined to suspect that

the preceding names, Rhatoises and Bicheres, have been copied by accident out of their proper place, and that they originally stood before Souphis. Of this hereafter.

2. The name preceding Mousthis, viz. Moscheres, is interpreted by Eratosthenes *Heliodotus*, "the gift of the Sun." This is the interpretation also of Mencheres. Both these terms were apparently titles or epithets; and, as they have the same signification, probably belonged to the same king.

3. Souphis the first and Souphis the second are evidently the same as Saophis the first and Saophis the second.

We have here three successive names in the list of Manethon, which are nearly identical with the three names opposite to them in the Theban series, viz. Souphis 1, Souphis 2, and Men-cheres, corresponding with Souphis 1, Souphis 2, and Mos-cheris. How many chances would there be against such a coincidence as this, arising merely from accident?

It is true that the lengths assigned to these reigns do not agree; but 192 years is so improbable a duration for three following reigns in an hereditary succession, that we have reason to suspect an error in some of these dates.

4. The two Theban names preceding Saophis, viz. Rau-osis, and Bïyris or Bi-hyris, bear a strong resemblance to Rhat-oises and Bi-cheres in the Memphite list; and I suspect that these names originally stood as I have set them down in italics, and that a careless copyist accidentally transposed them. No error is more likely to occur than one of this description.

5. Sirios, or Siröes, corresponds with Soris.

6. Thus far we trace a resemblance or identity in the names themselves. The two preceding kings in the Memphite series, viz. Siphouris, and Kerpheres, exhibit no resemblance whatever in this respect to those placed opposite to them, but it is remarkable that both the reigns in one table are exactly of the same duration as the reigns which stand opposite to them in the other. It is probable, therefore, that either Manethon or Eratosthenes has set down epithets or titles instead of proper names.

7. St-Oichos seems to be the same name as Achis. St, or Sta, is a common prefix. It occurs conjoined to several names which we know to be complete appellatives without it. Thus we have below St-Amenemes: Amenemes being a very common name in the catalogue of Egyptian kings.

6. Taigar stands opposite to Taser-tasis. Taigar seems to be only a variation in the orthography of Taser. The Egyptian letter corresponding with the Coptic J, or soft G, has no exact correlative in the Greek alphabet, and is represented indifferently by Sigma, or by Gamma.

7. Semphos stands before Taigar, and opposite to the Memphite Soiphis. The son of Hercules is the Greek interpretation of this name, and it was originally Somphos. A slight error, occasioning the omission of a consonant, may have given rise to the difference between this name and Soiphis.

In the four first places in either list I find no coincidence in names; but we have an historical synchronism which connects the commencements of the two series.

We are assured by Clement of Alexandria, that Hermes of Thebes, and Æsculapius of Memphis were two celebrated men, who obtained the honour of deification in consequence of the benefits conferred by them on mankind. We have in the foregoing pages endeavoured to ascertain what the deification of men meant in the fabulous history of the Egyptians. It does not appear that they had any apotheosis after the manner of the Greeks, but as hierarchs, or prophets, they were believed to partake of the divine nature of the gods to whom they dedicated themselves: they even assumed the names of their tutelar divinities, and were accordingly confounded in history with the gods themselves. It was thus that we have a second Hermes, and a second Æsculapius. The first Hermes, or Thoth, was an abstraction, the personification of intellect or reason; the first Æsculapius was Serapis, or Osiris. The second Thoth, or Hermes Trismegistus, was a real historical person; he lived in the time of Athoth, or was, perhaps, Athoth himself. He was a Theban, according to Clemens. The second Æsculapius was, according to Clemens, a Memphite; doubtless he was a priest. We here have his name as the second of the Memphite kings, who in the first ages seem generally to have arisen from the hierarchy.

Now we learn from several authorities that the Memphite Æsculapius was contemporary with the Theban Hermes, though the former seems to have been the younger of the two, and to have assisted the Theban priest in the compilation of his works. Thus, Manethon is made to assure Ptolemy that he had copied certain records in the recesses of the Egyptian

temples, which the wise Hermes had inscribed there with the assistance of Æsculapius.

'εξ ἀδύτων ἱερῶν βίβλων, βασιλεῦ Πτολεμαῖε
καὶ κρυφίων στηλων, ἃς ἐύρατο πάνσοφος Ερμῆς
σύμβουλον πινυτῆς σοφίης 'Ασκλήπιον ἐυρῶν.

MANETHON. *Apotelesm.* lib. v.

In the Pœmander, the reputed work of Hermes Trismegistus, Tat, or Thoth, and Æsculapius, are called the sons of Hermes.

Julius Firmicus, also, in his astrological work, cites some ancient books attributed to Hermes, and to Æsculapius, who received his lessons.

Other authorities might be accumulated to prove this synchronism, if it were necessary; but the above mentioned are sufficient to establish the fact, as far as a fact of such remote antiquity can be determined. The result is, that though the first names in these two successions do not resemble each other, yet we are in possession of the historical fact, that the second king in one table, was contemporary with the second in the other.

To conclude, it seems to be tolerably well established, that the beginning and end of the two tables we have compared are contemporary; that Athothes and Tosorthros lived in the same age, and that the queen Nitocris, at the end of the table, is the only sovereign of that name who reigned in Egypt. Further, when we proceed to examine the names of the intermediate kings, we find that the majority of them are such as, though sometimes differing in sound, appear to be merely modifications of the same

Egyptian originals; in other instances, an exact correspondence in the lengths of reigns proves that the same kings have been recorded in the two lists with different titles or epithets. On the whole, when we take into consideration the remote period of antiquity from which these records have descended, the number of chronological compilers through whose hands they have passed, the great variety of names and titles often given to the same individuals, and the imperfection of alphabetical writing, it must be allowed that we have found far more numerous coincidences than we had any right to expect in support of the supposition before adopted. We infer that these tables contain two coëval and almost identical successions.

The coincidences which have led us to this conclusion cannot be attributed to any design on the part of the authors to whom we owe the tables for it does not appear that either of them ever so much as conjectured that the third, fourth, and sixth dynasties of Manethon were coëval with the first twenty-two reigns of Eratosthenes; nor am I aware that the comparison on which this point is established has ever been made before.

It, therefore, appears that the early part of Manethon's chronicle, instead of containing one continued series of kings, consists in reality of several coëval successions; we find in the first place two dynasties of Thinite kings, the same series being continued by one dynasty of Elephantinites; in the second we have the series of Memphite kings just enumerated; thirdly, two dynasties of Heracleots, and one of Xoites, the names in which are lost; fourthly, the dynasties

of Shepherd kings, which appear to have been in part coëval with the foregoing series, and fifthly we find the titles of several Diospolitan dynasties, most of which are entirely lost, and the only one which remains is only another copy, as we have shown, of the nineteeenth dynasty, inserted in a later part of the Chronicle. To conclude, we have thus reconciled the apparently discordant schemes of Manethon on the one side, and the Old Chronicle and the laterculus of Eratosthenes on the other, since the longest succession in these dynasties falls considerably within the lowest period allowed by the latter documents for the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy. We have seen that Syncellus, professing to follow Eratosthenes, gives us data for fixing the beginning of the reign of Menes at 2662 B. C. and that the commencement of the Cynic circle, which answers to the same epoch in the Old Chronicle, must either be dated nearly at the same time, or 150 later. Now it is obvious that neither of the successions, in the first part of Manethon's Chronicle, exceeds the interval between these remote dates and the period already fixed for the era of the eighteenth dynasty, or of the Israelitish Exode. Manethon, therefore, is reconciled with the other authorities; but it must at the same time be allowed that we have not yet found in his Chronicle any means of computing the exact point of time at which we must date the commencement of the Egyptian history.

SECTION VII.

Connection of the Earlier and Later Parts of the Egyptian Chronology.

We shall now make an attempt to connect the commencement of the Chronicle with the later part, and to deduce from it some more exact conclusion respecting the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy. We pursue the same method which we have hitherto followed, but place less confidence on the data to which we are obliged to resort in the remaining part of our calculation, than on those which have conducted us thus far.

The agreement which we have already traced between the Memphite record in Manethon's Chronicle, and the series of Theban kings by Eratosthenes, may be considered as ascertaining the succession of Egyptian kings, from Menes downwards during nearly 700 years, to the reign of Nitocris. We had previously fixed the epoch of the departure of the Shepherds, and the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, or the accession of Tethmosis, at 1679 years B. C. All that we now want is to find the interval that elapsed between the reigns of Nitocris and of Tethmosis, and then the outline of the Chronicle will be ascertained.

It is probable that Manethon's work, if it could be restored to its original state, would not differ materially in this part of the computation from the Old Chronicle, which seems to have been the pattern on which it was formed. The following are the dates given by this document:—

	Years.
The fifteen generations of the Cynic circle reigned	443
The sixteenth dynasty	190
The seventeenth dynasty	103
	736

Now, if we add 736 years to 1679 we shall have 2415 B. C. for the era of the origin of the monarchy. But here a source of uncertainty falls in our way. For 178 years have been casually omitted in some part of the Old Chronicle, and an apprehension suggests itself that the lapse of the copyist may have happened in this part of the series. It would then be necessary to add this number to the foregoing, which would carry up the age of Menes to 2593 B. C. It is extremely difficult to determine which of these dates is the true one. Syncellus, indeed, has given us, for the commencement of the Laterculus of Eratosthenes, a date of 2662 years before Christ, but we are not informed whence he derived this calculation. If we were sure that it was taken from Eratosthenes, it would give support to the more remote computation of the era of the Old Chronicle, which differs from it only 69 years; but it appears that the

original work of Eratosthenes was never seen by Syncellus, who extracted the table of Theban kings from the compilation of Apollodorus, and nothing is more probable than that his estimate of the antiquity of this series was taken from other and perhaps fallacious sources.

There are some coincidences between the latter part of the Theban series of Eratosthenes and the eighteenth dynasty of Manethon, which falls within the epoch already determined. If these should appear considerable enough to be relied upon, they will afford a clue to all perplexities.

We may in the first place remark, that those kings whose names are mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus, as preceding the age of Sesostris, are, with few exceptions, found in the table of Eratosthenes. Herodotus has recorded only three reigns before that era, those of Menes, Nitocris, and Moiris, the immediate predecessor of Sesostris.* These seem to correspond with the Menes, Nitocris, and Maris of Eratosthenes. Diodorus mentions a king named Myris, or Muris, whom he places six generations earlier than the Moiris of Herodotus; and in the corresponding place in the laterculus we find the name of Meures. We shall exhibit these coincidences in one view.

* This Moiris is an important person in history. He is mentioned by Strabo and Ælian, the latter of whom terms him Marres.

Eratosthenes.	*Herodotus.*	*Diodorus.*
Mines	Menes	Menas
Biuris		Bousiris
Nitocris	Nitocris	
Meures		Muris
1st generation		1st generation
2d generation		2d generation
3d generation		3d generation
4th generation		4th generation
5th generation		5th generation
6th Maris.	Moires, or Marres, as he is termed by Aelian.	6th generation
	Sesostris.	7th Sesostris.

It would seem, from the analogies which display themselves in this table, that Eratosthenes collected the materials with which he has compiled the series of Theban kings from the same quarter whence Herodotus and Diodorus obtained information. We may, therefore, attribute the discrepancies between these authors to the imperfect manner in which the two latter understood the accounts that were given them.

Now, the Moiris of Herodotus, the Marres of Ælian, was the immediate predecessor of Sesostris. Sesostris, according to Manethon, was also called Ægyptus; that is, he bore the appellation given to the sacred river of Egypt. In the table of Eratosthenes, we find just below Marres, and divided from it by only one name a king called Phrouron, which is interpreted the Nile. This Phrouron appears, then, to be another name or epithet of the celebrated Sesostris. It ought immediately to follow Maris; and the name of Siphthas Hermes, which intervenes, should probably have preceded Maris. If we are allowed to

make this trifling alteration, we shall find a consistent analogy, in the order of names, between the three authors.

Eratosthenes.	*Herodotus and Diodorus.*
1. Meures	Muris. *D.*
2. Chomaephtha	
3. Ancounios	
4. Pente-Athyris	
5. St-Amenemes	
6. Sistosich-Hermes	Sasyches. *D.*
7. * *	
8. Siphthas-Hermes	
9. Maris	Mœris, or Marres, (*H.* and *Ælian*)
10. Phrouron, or the Nile.	Sesostris, named also Ægyptus, or the Nile.

Let us now compare this succession with the series of kings immediately preceding Sesostris, or Ægyptus, in the table of Manethon.

The predecessor and father of Sesostris is called Moiris by Herodotus. By Manethon he is termed Amenophis. Whence this difference? The fact seems to be, that these names are equivalent.

Maris, in the list of Eratosthenes, is interpreted Heliodotus, "the Gift of the Sun;" and the same meaning may be ascribed to Amenophis; so that these epithets or titles may be considered as convertible. Memnon, or Mennon, as Pliny writes the name, is another way of expressing Amenophis; for both these titles are given to another prince of the eighteenth dynasty, by Africanus. Memnon was the offspring of the Sun: it was his statue that was vocal when struck with the solar beams.

Strabo confirms this supposition, by assuring us

that Mœris was the same king who was otherwise called Memnon, and whose statue was so famous among the Greeks. Memnon, or Mennon, or Amenophis, is therefore certainly, in this instance, the same as Moiris; and, as these names have the same meaning, it is probable that we shall find them coinciding in other instances.

We shall now set down the three tables of Eratosthenes, of Herodotus and Diodorus, and of Manethon, opposite to each other, and observe their coincidences.

Eratosthenes.	*Herodotus and Diodorus.*	*Manethon's 18th Dynasty.*
*Thuosi-MARES		* AMENOPHIS the 1st
Thyrillus		Miphris
Semphoucrates		Misphragmouthosis
Chouther		Touthmosis
*MARES	MURIS, *D.*	*AMENOPHIS, or MEMNON
Chomaephtha		Horus
Ancounios		Achen-cheres
Pente-ATHYRIS		ATHORIS
St-Amenenes (23 years)		(24 yrs.) Achencheres 1 & 2
Sistosich-HERMES*	Sasyches, D.	ARMES, or HERMEUS*
		Ramesses
Siphthas-HERMES		HARMESSES
*MARIS	MOIRIS or MARRES, or MEMNON	*AMENOPHIS
Phrouron, named after the river Nile.	Sesostris	Sethosis, named also Ægyptus, the name of the Nile
	Sesostris 2	Rhapsakes
	Ammosis	Amenophthis
	Actisanes	Rameses
	*MARUS.	*AMMENEMES.

We observe that the name Muris, Meuris, Moiris or Marres, or Myris, occurs four times in the series of

Eratosthenes, Diodorus, and Herodotus. In three places it corresponds with the name of Amenophis, which we have shown to be an equivalent epithet; in the fourth with Amenemes; and Manethon, as we have shown in a foregoing section, sometimes has written Amenemes in the place of Amenophes.

Another coincidence is the occurrence of Hermes twice in the Theban list, opposite to Armes or Harmesses in the list of Manethon.

Pente-Athyris is a compound name, meaning P'hont-Athyri, or the high priest of Athyri or Athor. Opposite to this name we have Athoris, which is equivalent.

If these coincidences are allowed to be sufficient to establish the connection of the two series, they will enable us to fix the date of the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy more exactly than we have attempted by the data before adduced.

We have already shown that the beginning of the reign of Sesostris or Ægyptus is to be dated at 1350 B. C. The whole series of Eratosthenes, from Menes to the last king whose name is set down, occupied, as Syncellus says, 1075 years. From this sum we must deduct 68 years, for the length of the two last reigns, and the interval between Menes and Phrouron will be 1007 years. Now, if this Phrouron, whose name is interpreted "The Nile," be really the same as the Ægyptus or Sethosis of Manethon, we have only to add 1007 years to the date before obtained, in order to ascertain the time when Menes began to reign, and the record of the Egyptian monarchy commences. 1350 + 1007 amount to 2357. This date falls short of the lowest epoch deduced from the Old

Chronicle, by upwards of 50 years; but the difference is less than we might expect.

If this computation is correct, Nitocris must have died just 40 years before the Exode, and Thyosi-Mares was the Amenophis who was drowned in the Red Sea. Perhaps some confirmation to our hypothesis will be found in the coincidence of the date of this king's death. If we compute upwards from Nilus, supposing him identical with Sesostris, we find that the end of the reign of Thyosi-Mares falls just 6 years before the Scriptural date of the Exode; an error so small as this may be considered a remarkable instance of agreement.

It must be remarked that if the coincidences noticed in this section should be regarded as merely accidental, the conclusions obtained in the preceding pages will be in no way affected; and it may still be allowed that we have determined, with a tolerable degree of precision, the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, by comparing the Old Chronicle and that of Manethon with the laterculus of Eratosthenes. The analogies traced in the former sections appear to be so strong as to lie beyond the reach of merely accidental coincidence. This cannot be said of those which we have last surveyed; though I confess that I am inclined, on the whole, to regard even the latter as too distinct and too numerous to be the effect of chance.

I shall now, in the following table, place under one view the whole system of the Egyptian chronicles, observing that the only point which to myself appears left in doubt, is the connection I have attempted to trace between the eighteenth dynasty of Manethon and the latter part of the Theban laterculus.

TABLE OF MANETHON'S EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES, COMPARED WITH THE CANON OF ERATOSTHENES, DISPLAYING

Part

FIRST PART OF THE CHRONICLE,

Old Chronicle.	*Theban Kings, according to Eratosthenes.*	*Memphite Dynasties of Manethon, being the 3d, 4th, and 6th Dynasties.*
15 generations of the Cynic Circle	Menes	Necherophes
	Athothes	Tosorthros, or Æsculapius Memphites
	| Hermes Thebanus	
	Athothes 2	Tyris
	|	|
	Somphos	Soi-phis
	Toigar	Taser-tasis
	St-Oichos	Achis
	Gosormies reigned 30	Siphouris reigned .. 30
	Mares 26	Kerpheres 26
	|	(4th dynasty)
	Siroes	Soris
	Saophis 1	Souphis 1
Sum total of the 15 generations 443	Sum of the first 15 generations 454	
16th dynasty of 8 Tanites reigned 190	Saophis 2	Souphis 2
	Mos-Cheris	Men-Cheres
	|	|
		(6th dynasty,)
Total, 633	Apappos 100	Phiops 100
	Achescus 1	Mentesouphis 1
17th dynasty of 4 Memphites reigned 104	Nitocris 6	Nitocris 12
737	Total, 687	691

It would appear that some great revolution in Egypt about the

PARED WITH THE OLD CHRONICLE AND THE LATERCULUS THE CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS.

First.

FROM MENES TO NITOCRIS.

Thinite Dynasties of Manethon, being the 1st and 2d Dynasties.	*Kings of Elephantine, being the 1st and 2d Dynasties.*	*Xoites.*	*Heracleots.*
Menes		The 14th dynasty reigned 184 or 484	The 9th dynasty reigned 100 or 409
Athothes			The 10th dynasty..... 185
Kenkenes			Total, 594
Ou-Saphaës			
(2d dynasty)		[The date of the invasion of the Shepherds is determined by the following Table.]	
Bochus			
Sethenes			
Chæres	Ouser-Cheres		
	Sephres		
Nephercheres	Nephercheres		
Sĕsŏchris	Sisiris		
Cheneres	Cheres		
Sum total of these two dynasties ... 555	Rathouris		
[Perhaps these princes were driven from This to Elephantine.]	Mercheres		
	Tarcheres		
	Obnus		
	Total, from Menes, 684		

same period occasioned the termination of several dynasties. The

following Table indicates that this was the increasing ascendancy and expulsion of the Shepherds.

Part

CONNECTION OF THE PRECEDING DYNASTIES WITH THE SUB-SUCCESSION OF KINGS FROM

N. B. The foregoing table, as well as the succeeding one, is present is built on the supposition that Thyosi-Mares was the

Old Chronicle.	*Laterculus of Theban Kings.*	*Diospolitan Record of Manethon.*
18 dynasty of 14 Memphite Kings, reigned 348		18th Diospolitan dynasty of Manethon—called Memphites in the Old Chronicle
	Nitocris 687	
	Myrtaios	
	Thyosi-Mares	Amenophis 1
	|	|
	Meures	Amenophis 2, the Muris of Diodorus
	Pente-Athuris	Athoris
	Sistosich-Hermes	Armes, or Hermeus
	|	|
	Siphthas Hermes (Maris)	Harmesses
		Amenophis 3, the Marres of Ælian
	Phrouron, who bore the name of the river Nile.	Sethosis, who bore the name of Ægyptus, or the river Nile.

of the Diospolitan kings, who soon after effected the reduction

Second.

SEQUENT ONES. THIS PART OF THE TABLE COMPRISES THE NITOCRIS TO SESOSTRIS.

founded on the conclusions obtained in the sixth Section. The Amenophis 1 of Manethon, maintained in the seventh Section.

Memphite Kings.

Nitocris 691

[The 7th and 8th dynasties of Memphites are lost.]

* * *

* * *

Exode of the Hebrew Shepherds, B. C. 1619, viz. 511 years after the first incursion of the Shepherds, who therefore entered Egypt B.C. 2071, viz. in the reign of Toigar, according to this Table.

A duplicate Diospolitan record, being the 12th dynasty of Manethon.

Ammenemes

Sesostris

[See page* 100.]

Part

EGYPTIAN MONARCHS, FROM SETHOSIS,

Old Chronicle.	*Manethon's Chronicle.*
19th dynasty of Diospolites commenced 1084 years from the beginning of the Cynic Circle.*	Sethosis, the 1st king of the 19th dynasty, began to reign 1075—68=1007 years from Menes, according to the foregoing Table, founded on Section the seventh *
	Rhapsakes
	Amenophis
	Rameses (Troy taken)
	Ammenemmes
	Thouoris, or Polybus
Total 194	Total 209
20th dynasty of Diospolites reigned 228	(20th dynasty of Diospolites)
	Total 135
21 dynasty of Tanites	(21st dynasty of Tanites)
	Smedes, or Soussakeim
Total 121	Total 130
22d dynasty of Tanites	22d dynasty of Bubastites
Total 48	Total 49
23d dynasty of Diospolites	23d dynasty of Tanites
Total 19	Total 44
24th dynasty of 1 Saite reigned 44	24th dynasty of 1 Saite
	Bocchoris reigned 44
25th dynasty of Ethiopians	25th dynasty of Ethiopians
	Sabbaco
	Senechon
	Tarcus, or Taracus
Total 44	Total 44
26th dynasty of Memphites	26th dynasty of Saites
Total 177	Psammitichus
	Nechao
	Psammouthis
	Ouaphris
	Amasis.

Note. It hence appears that the Old Chronicle carries up the which exceeds the date founded on the second part of this Table

Third.

OR SESOSTRIS, TO AMASIS.

Herodotus and Diodorus.	*Kings of Egypt mentioned in the Scriptures.*	*Dates.*
		1330 B. C.
Ammosis		
Ramises of Pliny (Troy taken)		1180
Marus		
	Shishak	989
Bocchoris, D.		
Sabbacon		
	So	725
Tearchon of Strabo	Tirhakah the Ethiopian	710
Psammitichus		
Nechus	Pharaoh Necho	Dates all ascertained.
Psammis		
Apries	Pharaoh Hophra	
Amasis.		

foundation of the Egyptian monarchy to 1084 + 1350 = 2434 B. C. by somewhat more than half a century.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

It has often been supposed that some memorials of the history of the world, and of the most remarkable dispensations of Providence to the human race, had been preserved from very remote ages, particularly by the Patriarchs of the Hebrew stem; and that Moses, in composing the introduction to the Pentateuch, availed himself of such authentic documents. The first writer who attempted to investigate this subject, by a critical analysis of the book of Genesis, was the celebrated physician, Astruc.* The same inquiry has been pursued further by Jerusalem† and Ilgen,‡ and particularly by Eichhorn;§ and the results which these writers have deduced have been generally adopted by learned men and biblical critics on the Continent.‖

These writers have attempted to show that the book of Genesis contains several ancient historical documents, handed down from the Patriarchs, and preserved in an uncorrupt state

* Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux, dout il paroit que Moÿse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse, à Bruxelles, 1753.

† Jerusalem's Briefe über die Mosaische Geschichte und Philosophie.

‡ Ilgen's Urkunden des Jerusalemschen Tempel-Archivs.

§ Eichhorn über Mosis Nachrichten von der Noachischen Fluth. Repertorium, T. 5. Also, Eichhorn's Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Th. 2.

‖ See D. J. G. Rosenmüller's Erklärung der Geschichte vom Sündenfall, and Paulus's Neues Repertorium, Th. 2.

to the time of Moses, by whom they were copied nearly in their original form, except that they were interwoven by him into one continuous narrative. This inference is chiefly derived from the following considerations.

1. The book of Genesis contains several repetitions or double narratives of the same events.

2. If these duplicate narratives are compared with each other, they may be distinguished by characteristic differences of style.

3. The repetitions are too extensive, and the characteristic differences too distinctly marked, to admit of any other explanation than that which this hypothesis assigns.

As a specimen of this analysis, I shall subjoin Eichhorn's comparison of the two Histories of the Deluge, which this writer endeavours to trace and discriminate. It will be observed that the passages placed opposite to each other contain two complete and continued narratives. In one of these the Deity is distinguished by the term Elohim, in the other by Jehovah; and there is only one exception to this remark. The style differs in other respects. The record in which the word Elohim is used is more prosaic and circumstantial; the other is expressed more briefly, and in more striking and poetical phraseology.

Record in which the name JEHOVAH *is used.*	*Record in which the word* ELOHIM *is used.*
GENESIS, chap. vi. 5. And Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.	GENESIS, chap. vi. 12. And the Elohim saw the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.
7. And Jehovah said, "I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth, both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them."	13. And the Elohim said unto Noah, "The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them: and behold, I will destroy them from the earth."
Chap. vii. 1. And Jehovah said unto Noah, "Because thee I have seen righteous before me in this generation."	9. Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations; and Noah walked with the Elohim.

Record in which the name JEHOVAH *is used.*

GENESIS, chap. vii. 2. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee, by sevens, the male and his female; and of beasts unclean, by two, the male and his female.

3. Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female,

(B) to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights:
(B) and every living substance that I have made, will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

5. And Noah did according to all that Jehovah had commanded him.

1. And Jehovah said unto Noah, "Come thou, and all thy house, into the ark."

6. And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

(The time is specified in this record: see above, verse 4.*)*

7. And Noah entered, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

8. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth,

Record in which the word ELOHIM *is used.*

GENESIS, chap. vi. 19. And of every living thing, of all flesh, two of every sort shall thou bring into an ark, to keep them alive with thee: they shall be male and female.

20. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing upon the earth after his kind: two of every sort shall come unto thee, (B) to keep them alive.

17. And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth,

(B) to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven: every thing that is in the earth shall die.

22. Thus did Noah; according to all that the Elohim had commanded him, so did he.

18. And thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.

Chap. vii. 11. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

12. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

13. In the self same day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with him, into the ark.

14. They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort.

Record in which the name JEHOVAH *is used.*

GENESIS chap. vi. 9. There went in, two and two, unto Noah into the ark,

(B) the male and female, as the Elohim had commanded Noah.

17. And the flood was forty days the earth; and the waters increased and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

23. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained, and they that were with him in the ark.

Chap. viii. 21. And Jehovah said in his heart,
I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; because the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.

(B) Neither will I again any more smite every living thing, as I have done.

22. As yet all the days of the earth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

Record in which the word ELOHIM *is used.*

GENESIS chap. vi. 15. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life.

(B) 16. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as the Elohim had commanded him.

18. And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth and the ark went upon the face of the waters.

21. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl and of cattle, and of beasts, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man.

22. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, and all that was in the dry land died.

Chap. ix. 8. And the Elohim said to Noah and to his sons with him, saying,

9. And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; (10.) and with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.

(11.) And I will establish my covenant with you.

(B) Neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there be any more flood to destroy the earth.

The selection of the passages which are thus brought into comparison is perhaps, in some instances, forced and assumed without sufficient marks of discrimination. Yet, after making all allowances for critical artifice, it seems impossible to deny that there is some foundation for the author's hypothesis.

I leave the reader, however, to examine for himself, and draw his own conclusions.*

NOTE B.

In assigning the dates to two or three events in the history of the Israelites, I have followed a computation which differs from that of Archbishop Usher. The events I allude to are occurrences, in which the history of the Hebrews is involved with the affairs of the Egyptians. The first of these is the Exode, or the departure of Israel from Egypt, under the guidance of Moses and Aaron. The second is the invasion of Judæa and capture of Jerusalem by the king of Egypt, termed in our sacred Scriptures Shishak. I shall mention the grounds on which the dates assigned to these occurrences appear to me to be established, beginning, as before, with the later, and then proceeding to the earlier events.

First, of the date assigned to the invasion of Palestine by Shishak.

Jerusalem was plundered by Shishak in the fifth year of Rehoboam, who ascended the throne of David thirty-six years after the foundation of the temple of Jerusalem. We have here two remarkable epochas in the history of the Israelites connected together, viz. the foundation of Solomon's temple, which fixes the commencement of a celebrated era; and the

* For a full elucidation of this subject, I refer the reader to a work which is now preparing for the press by the Rev. D. G. Wait, LL.B. Rector of Blagdon, Somersetshire, under the title of An Introduction to the Old Testament. It is designed to contain a variety of curious illustrations derived from oriental sources, with the principal remarks of the Rabbinical Commentators, and the most learned German Critics. The profound erudition and indefatigable diligence of the author leave no room to doubt that this work will make a very valuable addition to the biblical literature of our nation.

revolt of the ten tribes, which happened in the first year of Rehoboam.

The temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in the year before Christ 588, according to Usher and most of our modern chronologers. This epoch is tolerably well fixed by a variety of historical data. By computing upwards from this era, and reckoning the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, as set down in the books of Kings and Chronicles, the earlier dates are obtained. By this method Usher has calculated the interval between the foundation and the destruction of the temple to have been 424 years, and dates its foundation in 1012 B. C. In the computation I have followed, which is that adopted by Dr. Hales,* fifteen years are added to the period above mentioned, and the foundation of the temple is dated at 1027 B. C.

This difference consists in the two following particulars.

The reign of Jehoram, the fifth descendant of Solomon, as set down in 2 Kings, xiii. 17, and 2 Chronicles, xxi. 5, is eight years. Usher conjectures that half of his reign was a joint sovereignty with his father Jehoshaphat, and on this hypothesis has assigned only four years to Jehoram. Dr. Jackson has discussed this subject in his Chronological Antiquities, and I follow him in assigning eight years to this reign.†

The other deviation from Usher's computation consists in the insertion of an interregnum of eleven years between the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah, for which we are fully authorized by a comparison of the contemporary successions of Judah and Israel; unless an hypothesis assumed by Usher, similar to that of the former instance, be allowed. According to 2 Kings, xv. 1, Jeroboam the 2d was in the 27th year of his reign over Israel when Azariah ascended the throne of Jerusalem. Usher reckons this to have been the sixteenth year of his reign, and conjectures that the first eleven years were in joint sovereignty with his father Jehoash, whose whole

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. i.

† Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 177.

reign was only sixteen years. There is no authority for this conjecture, neither is there any proof that the interregnum of eleven years preceded the reign of Azariah; but one of the two suppositions must be allowed. The hypothesis that an interregnum took place is rendered probable by the circumstances of Amaziah's demise, and seems implied in the account of Azariah's succession in 2 Chronicles, xxvi. 1. And we have shortly afterwards an instance of a similar chasm in the succession of the kings of Israel, which is allowed by all chronologers, and certainly happened, yet is not expressly noticed in the series of reigns.

We thus deduce the following dates from the Scriptural history.

	Years.
Foundation of Solomon's temple, ... B. C.	1027
Accession of Rehoboam.....	990
Invasion of Judæa and sacking of Jerusalem by Shishak	985

Another important era in the Scripture Chronology is the Exode, or the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. The computation of this date depends on the duration we assign to the period between the foundation of the temple of Jerusalem and the Exode.

Archbishop Usher's calculation of this interval, which is supported by the present Hebrew text, assigns to it 480 years. Several considerations seem to render it manifest that this date has been altered, either by fraud or accident.

1. It is inconsistent with the tenour of the ancient Jewish history, as contained in the preceding scriptures. In the book of Judges, a series of rulers is set down, with an exact enumeration of their reigns or periods of government, which implies that they held the office of suffetes, or chief magistrates, in consecutive order. There is not time enough for the reigns of the whole number in succession, including the years of servitude, when Israel was subject to foreign oppressors, if the short date above mentioned is retained; and

chronologers have been driven to the expedient of conjecturing, contrary to the tenour of the history, that the reigns of several judges were contemporary.

2. The longer computation is the best supported by ancient authorities. Josephus assigns five hundred and ninety-two years as the duration of the interval between the Exode and the foundation of the temple. This calculation seems to have been generally adopted by the learned among the Jews, about the time of the Christian era; and St. Paul appears to have followed it in the brief outline of the history of Israel, which occurs in Acts xiii. 17, 22. It is adopted by Michaëlis as the true date.

3. The only specious objection to this longer computation is founded on the genealogy of the house of Jesse, in the last chapter of Ruth, which gives only eleven generations, inclusive, between Judah and David. These, according to the usual allowance of three generations to a century, give us only three hundred and sixty years between the patriarch of the tribe and the founder of the royal house. But, if we refer to the books of Chronicles, we shall find several genealogies consisting of a much greater number of generations. In the house of the high priests we have fifteeen generations inclusive, betweed Aaron and Azariah, who was contemporary with Solomon; and in the house of Samuel, we find seventeen generations between Korah and Samuel, which will give twenty between Korah and Solomon. It is evident, therefore, that we must not take the singularly short genealogy of the house of Judah as the basis of our computation, which would be to found the rule on the exception. In the case of this short series, we must suppose, either that some generations are omitted in the genealogy, a thing by no means infrequent in the practice of the Hebrew genealogists,* or

* See Michaëlis de Chronologia Mosis post Diluvium, and Observations entitled "Erinnerungen über Michaëlis meinung von der Chronologie zwischen Sem und Abraham," in Eichhorn's Repert. für Bibl. und Morgen. Litt. 13 Th.

that the generations in this house were, from some circumstances unknown to us, unusually long. This supposition is by no means improbable, or contrary to the tenour of events in the present times. We might select many families in which three generations will lead us back much more than a century.

NOTE C.

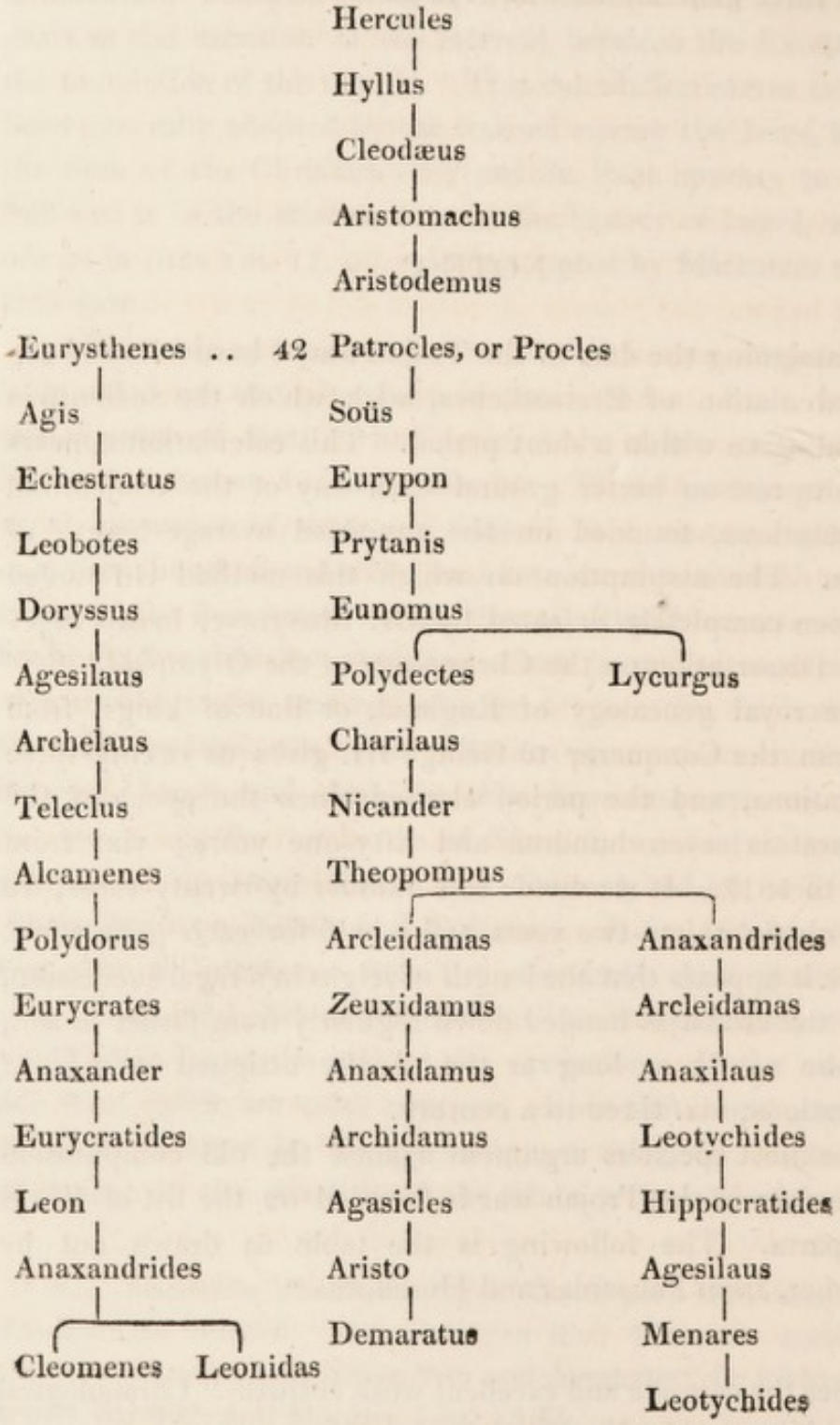
In assigning the date of the Trojan war, I have followed the old calculation of Eratosthenes, with which the ancients in general agree within a short period. This calculation appears to me to rest on better ground than any of the conjectural computations, founded on the supposed average-length of reigns. The assumption on which this method is founded has been completely defeated by Dr. Musgrave, in his ingenious Dissertation on the Chronology of the Olympiad.

The royal genealogy of England, or line of kings, from William the Conqueror to George III. gives us twenty-three generations, and the period elapsed since the epoch of the conquest is seven hundred and fifty-one years; viz. from 1066 to 1817. If we divide this number by twenty-three, we shall obtain thirty-two years and a half for each generation. Hence it appears that the length of reigns in a regal succession, when the crown is handed down regularly from father to son, may be nearly as long as the usually assigned average of generations, viz. three to a century.

The most specious argument against the old computation of the date of the Trojan war is founded on the list of Kings of Sparta. The following is the table as drawn out by Falconer, from Pausanias and Herodotus.*

* See the accurate and excellent work entitled "Chronological Tables," by the late Mr. Falconer.

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SPARTA, FROM PAUSANIAS AND HERODOTUS.



Hyllus was contemporary with the heroes who fought at Troy, and the taking of Troy may be reckoned as coeval with his death. The death of Leonidas happened 480 B.C. while Leotychides reigned in the house of Procles. We have, therefore, (reckoning the last generation as half spent at the death of Leonidas,) $20\frac{1}{2}$ generations between the Trojan war, dated at 1183 B.C. and the year 480, giving 703 years to be divided by $20\frac{1}{2}$, which affords somewhat more than 34 years for each generation. In the line of Eurysthenes there are only $19\frac{1}{2}$ generations, and the average will be somewhat longer than those of our English series; but they are by no means beyond the bounds of nature and of probability. The difference in manners in the two nations, with respect to marriages and other circumstances, will account for this variation, and a minute inspection of the Spartan series affords, as Dr. Musgrave has shown, several reasons why the average is greater than usual. For example, Charilaus, who reigned sixty-four years, was born after his father's death.

This computation is supported by some historical notices which seem to be of good authority. Before the Olympic era, the Grecian chronology is subject to doubt and uncertainty; but, from the period when the calculation by Olympiads began, it may in general be trusted, and it appears that the best of the old antiquaries relied with confidence on the register of the Olympiads. The beginning of the Messenian war was fixed by Pausanias at the second year of the ninth Olympiad, in the reigns of Theopompos and Alcamenes. These kings, therefore, reigned in 743 B.C. and this is the place which the above computation assigns them in the series. 743 taken from 1183, leave 440 years, which are to be divided between twelve reigns. One of these reigns is of an uncommon character, as before mentioned. Charilaus's reign is reckoned from his father's death before his own birth; the period assigned to it is therefore longer than ought fairly to be allowed to a generation; deduct 64 from 440, and we have 376 to be divided between eleven reigns, which gives a little more than 34 years to each. We are informed that these reigns were

actual generations in lineal succession; and therefore the average is within the limit of probability.

On the whole, we may conclude that the old date of the Trojan war may be considered as resting on the authenticity of the Olympiad chronology, which Dr. Musgrave seems to have rescued from all doubt.

The fallacy of the attempt to guess at Chronological facts by means of the average length of reigns is placed in the strongest point of view, by applying it to a few particular instances. If we take an average of the kings of France, from the time of Henry IV. we shall find that they continued upwards of forty years, one with another. Let us apply this average to the Emperors of Rome. The number of reigns from Cæsar Augustus to Augustulus was sixty-two, and the latter prince fell in the year 476. Calculate on the average above deduced, and Augustus must be computed to have begun his reign 2004 years B.C. Even if we adopt Sir Isaac Newton's average of twenty years, we shall place him a thousand years before his real time. On the other hand, we should shorten the English and French history in a like degree, if we calculate its duration by an average deduced from the Roman. We may conclude that this method of calculating the duration of reigns in one country, from a rule formed by the succession in another, is likely to lead us into great errors, especially if we apply to an hereditary unbroken series, an estimate drawn from the mutable succession in more turbulent governments.

THE END.

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DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

Plate I. opposite the title-page.
—— II. ——— page 53.
—— III. ——— —— 58.
—— IV. ——— —— 78.
—— V. ——— —— 88.
—— IV. ——— —— 126.

Errata.

Page 21, line 23, " voc. μεγα," omis. post δυναται.
—— 23, — 11, " ὁδου," lege ὁδον.
—— 26, — 3, " caudens," — *candens.*
—— 32, — 7, " or," — *no.*
—— 66, — 10, " a," — *an.*
—— 131, — 22, " at," — *ut.*
—— 249, — 10 from bottom, add *they*, at the beginning of the line.
—— 271, — 26, " Tritochana," — *Trilochana.*
—— 419, — 23, " ευξει redundat," — ευξη ἰδων, &c.

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